

# MINNESOTA HISTORY

*A*  
*Quarterly*  
*Magazine*

Volume 12.      Number 1  
Whole Number 61  
March, 1931



## THE PERSISTENCE OF POPULISM<sup>1</sup>

Early in 1890, when the People's party was yet in the embryo stage, a farmer editor from the West set forth the doctrine that "The Cranks Always Win." As he saw it,

The cranks are those who do not accept the existing order of things, and propose to change them. The existing order of things is always accepted by the majority, therefore the cranks are always in the minority. They are always progressive thinkers and always in advance of their time, and they always win. Called fanatics and fools at first, they are sometimes persecuted and abused. But their reforms are generally righteous, and time, reason and argument bring men to their side. Abused and ridiculed, then tolerated, then respectfully given a hearing, then supported. This has been the gauntlet that all great reforms and reformers have run, from Gallileo to John Brown.

The writer of this editorial may have overstated his case, but a backward glance at the history of Populism shows that many of the reforms that the Populists demanded, while despised and rejected for a season, won out triumphantly in the end. The party itself did not survive, nor did many of its leaders, although the number of contemporary politicians whose es-cutcheons should bear the bend sinister of Populism is larger than might be supposed; but Populistic doctrines showed an amazing vitality.

In formulating their principles the Populists reasoned that the ordinary, honest, willing American worker, be he farmer or be he laborer, might expect in this land of opportunity not only the chance to work, but also as the rightful reward of his labor a fair degree of prosperity. When, in the later eighties

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read on January 19 as the annual address of the eighty-second annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society. It will be included, with annotations, as a chapter in Dr. Hicks's book on "The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party," which is soon to be published by the University of Minnesota Press. *Ed.*

and in the "heart-breaking nineties," hundreds of thousands — perhaps millions — of men found themselves either without work to do, or having work, unable to pay their just debts and make a living, the Populists held that there must be "wrong and crime and fraud somewhere." What was more natural than to fix the blame for this situation upon the manufacturers, the railroads, the money-lenders, the middlemen — plutocrats all, whose "colossal fortunes, unprecedented in the history of mankind" grew ever greater while the multitudes came to know the meaning of want? Work was denied when work might well be given, and "the fruits of the toil of millions were boldly stolen."

And the remedy? In an earlier age the hard-pressed farmers and laborers might have fled to free farms in the seemingly limitless lands of the West, but now the era of free lands had passed. Where, then, might they look for help? Where, if not to the government, which alone had the power to bring the mighty oppressors of the people to bay? So to the government the Populists turned. From it they asked laws to insure a full redress of grievances. As Professor Frederick J. Turner puts it, "the defenses of the pioneer democrat began to shift from free land to legislation, from the ideal of individualism to the ideal of social control through regulation by law." Unfortunately, however, the agencies of government had been permitted to fall into the hands of the plutocrats. Hence, if the necessary corrective legislation were to be obtained, the people must first win control of their government. The Populist philosophy thus boiled down finally to two fundamental propositions: one, that the government must restrain the selfish tendencies of those who profited at the expense of the poor and needy; the other, that the people, not the plutocrats, must control the government.

In their efforts to remove all restrictions on the power of the people to rule the Populists accepted as their own a wide range of reforms. They believed, and on this they had fre-



quently enough the evidence of their own eyes, that corruption existed at the ballot box and that a fair count was often denied. They fell in, therefore, with great enthusiasm when agitators, who were not necessarily Populists, sought to popularize the Australian ballot and such other measures as were calculated to insure a true expression of the will of the people. Believing as they did that the voice of the people was the voice of God, they sought to eliminate indirect elections, especially the election of United States senators by state legislatures and the president and the vice president by an electoral college. Fully aware of the habits of party bosses in manipulating nominating conventions, the Populists veered more and more toward direct primary elections, urging in some of their later platforms that nominations even for president and vice president should be made by direct vote. Woman suffrage was a delicate question, for it was closely identified with the politically hazardous matter of temperance legislation, but, after all, the idea of votes for women was so clearly in line with the Populist doctrine of popular rule that it could not logically be denied a place among genuinely Populistic reforms. Direct legislation through the initiative and referendum and through the easy amendment of state constitutions naturally appealed strongly to the Populists—the more so as they saw legislatures fail repeatedly to enact reform laws to which a majority of their members had been definitely pledged. “A majority of the people,” declared the Sioux Falls convention, “can never be corruptly influenced.” The recall of faithless officials, even judges, also attracted favorable attention from the makers of later Populist platforms.

To list these demands is to cite the chief political departures made in the United States during recent times. The Australian system of voting, improved registration laws, and other devices for insuring “a free ballot and a fair count” have long since swept the country. Woman suffrage has won an unqualified victory. The election of United States senators by

direct vote of the people received the approval of far more than two-thirds of the national House of Representatives as early as 1898; it was further foreshadowed by the adoption in a number of states, beginning in 1904, of senatorial primaries the results of which were to be regarded as morally binding upon the legislatures concerned; and it became a fact in 1913 with the ratification of the seventeenth amendment to the Constitution. The direct election of president and vice president was hard to reconcile with state control of the election machinery and state definition of the right to vote, hence this reform never caught on; but the danger of one presidential candidate receiving a majority of the popular vote and another a majority of the electoral vote, as was the case in the Cleveland-Harrison contest of 1888, seems definitely to have passed. Late elections may not prove that the popular voice always speaks intelligently; but they do seem to show that it speaks decisively. In the widespread use of the primary election for the making of party nominations, the Populist principle of popular rule has scored perhaps its most telling victory. Benjamin R. Tillman urged this reform in South Carolina at a very early date, but on obtaining control of the Democratic political machine of his state, he hesitated to give up the power which the convention system placed in his hands. At length, however, in 1896 he allowed the reform to go through. Wisconsin, spurred on by the La Follette forces, adopted the direct primary plan of nominations in 1903, and thereafter the other states of the Union, with remarkably few exceptions, fell into line. Presidential preference primaries, through which it was hoped that the direct voice of the people could be heard in the making of nominations for president and vice president, were also adopted by a number of states, beginning with Oregon in 1910. Direct legislation by the people became almost an obsession with the Populists, especially the middle-of-the-road faction, in whose platforms it tended to overshadow nearly every other issue; and it is perhaps significant that the initiative and referendum

were adopted by South Dakota, a state in which the Populist party had shown great strength, as close on the heels of the Populist movement as 1898. Other states soon followed the South Dakota lead, and particularly in Oregon the experiment of popular legislation was given a thorough trial. New constitutions and numerous amendments to old constitutions tended also to introduce much popularly made law, the idea that legislation in a constitution is improper and unwise receiving perhaps its most shattering blow when an Oklahoma convention wrote for that state a constitution of fifty thousand words. The recall of elected officials has been applied chiefly in municipal affairs, but some states also permit its use for state officers and a few allow even judges, traditionally held to be immune from popular reactions, to be subjected to recall. Thus many of the favorite ideas of the Populists, ideas which had once been "abused and ridiculed," were presently "respectfully given a hearing, then supported."

Quite apart from these changes in the American form of government, the populist propaganda in favor of independent voting did much to undermine the intense party loyalties that had followed in the wake of the Civil War. The time had been when for the Republican voter "To doubt Grant was as bad as to doubt Christ," when the man who scratched his party ticket was regarded as little if any better than the traitor to his country. The Farmers' Alliance in its day had sought earnestly to wean the partisan voter over to independence. It had urged its members to "favor and assist to office such candidates only as are thoroughly identified with our principles and who will insist on such legislation as shall make them effective." And in this regard the Alliance, as some of its leaders boasted, had been a "great educator of the people." The Populist party had to go even further, for its growth depended almost wholly upon its ability to bring voters to a complete renunciation of old party loyalties. Since at one time or another well over a million men cast their ballots for Populist

tickets, the loosening of party ties that thus set in was of formidable proportions. Indeed, the man who became a Populist learned his lesson almost too well. When confronted, as many Populist voters thought themselves to be in 1896, with a choice between loyalty to party and loyalty to principle, the third-party adherent generally tended to stand on principle. Thereafter, as Populism faded out, the men who once had sworn undying devotion to the Omaha platform were compelled again to transfer their allegiance. Many Republicans became Democrats via the Populist route; many Democrats became Republicans. Probably, however, most of the Populists returned to the parties from which they had withdrawn, but party ties, once broken, were not so strong as they had been before. The rapid passing of voters from one party to another and the wholesale scratching of ballots, so characteristic of voting today, are distinctly reminiscent of Populism; as are also the frequent nonpartisan ballots by which judges, city commissioners, and other officers are now chosen wholly without regard to their party affiliations.

In the South the Populist demands for popular government produced a peculiar situation. To a very great extent the southern Populists were recruited from the rural classes, which had hitherto been politically inarticulate. Through the Populist party the "wool hat boys" from the country sought to obtain the weight in southern politics that their numbers warranted but that the "Bourbon" dynasties had ever denied them. In the struggle that ensued both sides made every possible use of the Negro vote, and the bugaboo of Negro domination was once again raised. Indeed, the experience of North Carolina under a combination government of Populists and Republicans furnished concrete evidence of what might happen should the political power of the Negro be restored. Under the circumstances, therefore, there seemed to be nothing for the white Populists to do but to return to their former allegiance until the menace of the Negro voter could be removed. With the

Democratic party again supreme, the problem of Negro voting was attacked with right good will. Indeed, as early as 1890 the state of Mississippi, stimulated no doubt by the agitation over the Force Bill, adopted a constitution which fixed as a prerequisite for voting two years' residence in the state and one year's residence in the district or town. This provision, together with a poll tax that had to be paid far in advance of the dates set for elections, diminished appreciably the number of Negro voters, among whom indigence was common and the migratory propensity well developed. To complete the work of disfranchisement an amendment was added to the Mississippi constitution in 1892 which called for a modified literacy test that could be administered in such a way as to permit illiterate whites to vote, while discriminating against illiterate, or even literate blacks. The Tillmanites in South Carolina found legal means to exclude the Negro voter in 1895; Louisiana introduced her famous "grandfather clause" in 1898; North Carolina adopted residence, poll tax, and educational qualifications in 1900; Alabama followed in 1901; and in their own good time the other southern states in which Negro voters had constituted a serious problem did the same thing. Some reverses were experienced in the courts, but the net result of this epidemic of anti-Negro suffrage legislation was to eliminate for the time being all danger that Negro voters might play an important part in southern politics.

With this problem out of the way, or at least in process of solution, it became possible for the rural whites of the South to resume the struggle for a voice in public affairs that they had begun in the days of the Alliance and had continued under the banner of Populism. They did not form again a third party, but they did contest freely at the Democratic primaries against the respectable and conservative descendants of the "Bourbons." The Tillman machine in South Carolina continued to function smoothly for years as the agency through which the poorer classes sought to dominate the government

of that state. It regularly sent Tillman to the United States Senate, where after his death his spirit lived on in the person of Cole Blease. In Georgia the struggle for supremacy between the two factions of the Democratic party was a chronic condition with now one side and now the other in control. Ex-Populists, converted by the lapse of time into regular organization Democrats, won high office and instituted many of the reforms for which they had formerly been defamed. Even Tom Watson rose from his political deathbed to show amazing strength in a race for Congress in 1918 and to win an astounding victory two years later when he sought a seat in the United States Senate. For better or for worse, the political careers of such southern politicians as James K. Vardaman of Mississippi, the Honorable Jeff Davis of Arkansas, and Huey P. Long of Louisiana demonstrate conclusively the fact that the lower classes in the South can and sometimes do place men of their own kind and choosing in high office. In these later days rural whites, who fought during Populist times with only such support as they could obtain from Republican sources, have sometimes been able to count as allies the mill operatives and their sympathizers in the factory districts; and southern primary elections are now apt to be as exciting as the regular elections are tame. Populism may have had something to do with the withdrawal of political power from the southern Negro, but it also paved the way for the political emancipation of the lower-class southern whites.

The control of the government by the people was for the thoughtful Populist merely a means to an end. The next step was to use the power of the government to check the iniquities of the plutocrats. The Populists at Omaha, when they were baffled by the insistence of the temperance forces, pointed out that before this or any other such reform could be accomplished they must "ask all men to first help us to determine whether we are to have a republic to administer." The inference is clear. Once permit the people really to rule, once insure that

the men in office would not or could not betray the popular will, and such regulative measures as would right the wrongs from which the people suffered would quickly follow. The Populists believed implicitly in the ability of the people to frame and enforce the measures necessary to redeem themselves from the various sorts of oppression that were being visited upon them. They catalogued the evils in their platforms and suggested the specific remedies by which these evils were to be overcome.

Much unfair criticism has been leveled at the Populists because of the attitude they took toward the allied subjects of banking and currency. One would think from the contemporary anti-Populist diatribes and from many subsequent criticisms of the Populist financial program that in such matters the third-party economists were little better than raving maniacs. As a matter of fact, the old-school Populists could think about as straight as their opponents. Their newspapers were well edited and the arguments therein presented usually held together. Populist literature, moreover, was widely and carefully read by the ordinary third-party voters, particularly by the western farmers, whose periods of enforced leisure gave them ample opportunity for reading and reflection. Old party debaters did not tackle lightly their Populist antagonists, and as frequently as not the bewhiskered rustic, turned orator, could present in support of his arguments an array of carefully sorted information that left his better-groomed opponent in a daze. The injection of the somewhat irrelevant silver issue considerably confused Populist thinking, but, even so, many of the "old-timers" kept their heads and put silver in its proper place.

The Populists observed with entire accuracy that the currency of the United States was both inadequate and inelastic. They criticized correctly the part played by the national banking system in currency matters as irresponsible and susceptible of manipulation in the interest of the creditor class.



They demanded a stabilized dollar and they believed that it could be obtained if a national currency "safe, sound, and flexible" should be issued direct to the people by the government itself in such quantities as the reasonable demands of business should dictate. Silver and gold might be issued as well as paper, but the value of the dollar should come from the fiat of government and not from the "intrinsic worth" of the metal. It is interesting to note that since the time when Populists were condemned as lunatics for holding such views legislation has been adopted which, while by no means going the full length of a straight-out paper currency, does seek to accomplish precisely the ends that the Populists had in mind. Populist and free silver agitation forced economists to study the money question as they had never studied it before and ultimately led them to propose remedies that could run the gauntlet of public opinion and of Congress. The Aldrich-Vreeland Act of 1908 authorized an emergency currency of several hundred million dollars to be lent to banks on approved securities in times of financial disturbance. A National Monetary Commission, created at the same time, reported after four years' intensive study in favor of a return to the Hamiltonian system of a central bank of the United States; but Congress in 1914, under Wilson's leadership, adopted instead the Federal Reserve system. The Federal Reserve Act did not, indeed, destroy the national banks and avoid the intervention of bankers in all monetary matters; but it did make possible an adequate and elastic national currency varying in accordance with the needs of the country, and it placed supreme control of the nation's banking and credit resources into the hands of a Federal Reserve Board, appointed, not by the bankers, but by the president of the United States with the consent of the Senate. The Populist diagnosis had been accepted and the Populist prescription had not been wholly ignored.

Probably no item in the Populist creed received more thorough castigation at the hands of contemporaries than the



demand for subtreasuries, or government warehouses for the private storage of grain; but the subtreasury idea was not all bad, and perhaps the Populists would have done well had they pursued it farther than they did. The need that the subtreasury was designed to meet was very real. Lack of credit forced the farmer to sell his produce at the time of harvest when the price was lowest. A cash loan on his crop that would enable him to hold it until prices should rise was all that he asked. Prices might thus be stabilized; profits honestly earned by the farmers would no longer fall to the speculators. That the men who brought forward the subtreasury as a plan for obtaining short-term rural credits also loaded it with an unworkable plan for obtaining a flexible currency was unfortunate; but the fundamental principle of the bill has by no means been discredited. Indeed, the Warehouse Act of 1916 went far toward accomplishing the very thing the Populists demanded. Under it the United States department of agriculture was permitted to license warehousemen and authorize them to receive, weigh, and grade farm products, for which they might issue warehouse receipts as collateral. Thus the owner might borrow the money he needed; not, however, from the government of the United States.

In addition to the credits that the subtreasury would provide, Populist platforms usually urged also that the national government lend money on farm lands directly at a low rate of interest. This demand, which received at the time an infinite amount of condemnation and derision, has since been treated with much deference. If the government does not now print paper money to lend the farmer with his land as security, it nevertheless does stand back of an elaborate system of banks through which he may obtain the credit he needs. Under the terms of the Federal Reserve Act national banks may lend money on farm mortgages — a privilege not enjoyed in Populist times — and agricultural paper running as long as

six months may be rediscounted by the Federal Reserve Banks. From the Farm Loan Banks, created by an act of 1916, the farmers may borrow for long periods sums not exceeding fifty per cent of the value of their land and twenty per cent of the value of their permanent improvements. Finally, through still another series of banks — the Federal Intermediate Credit Banks, established by an act of 1923 — loans are made available to carry the farmer from one season to the next, or a little longer, should occasion demand; the intermediate banks were authorized to rediscount agricultural and livestock paper for periods of six months to three years. Thus the government has created a comprehensive system of rural credits through which the farmer may obtain short-term loans, loans of intermediate duration, or long-term loans, whichever his needs require, with the minimum of difficulty and at minimum interest rates. It would be idle to indulge in a *post hoc* argument to try to prove that all these developments were due to Populism; but the intensive study of agricultural problems that led ultimately to these measures did begin with the efforts of sound economists to answer the arguments of the Populists. And it is evident that in the end the economists conceded nearly every point for which the Populists had contended.

More recent attempts to solve the agricultural problem, while assuming the responsibility of the government in the matter as readily as even a Populist could have asked, have progressed beyond the old Populist panacea of easy credit. Agricultural economists now have their attention fixed upon the surplus as the root of the difficulty. In industry production can be curtailed to meet the demands of any given time and a glutted market with the attendant decline of prices can in a measure be forestalled. But in agriculture, where each farmer is a law unto himself and where crop yields must inevitably vary greatly from year to year, control of production is well-nigh impossible and a surplus may easily become chronic. Suggestions for relief therefore looked increasingly toward

the disposal of this surplus to the greatest advantage. The various McNary-Haugen bills that came before Congress in recent years proposed to create a federal board through which the margin above domestic needs in years of plenty should be purchased and held or disposed of abroad at whatever price it would bring. Through an "equalization fee" the losses sustained by "dumping" the surplus in this fashion were to be charged back upon the producers benefited. This proposition, while agreeable to a majority of both houses of Congress, met opposition from two successive presidents, Coolidge and Hoover, and was finally set aside for another scheme, less "socialistic." In 1929 Congress passed and the president signed a law for the creation of an appointive Federal Farm Board whose duty it is, among other things, to encourage the organization of coöperative societies through which the farmers themselves may deal with the problem of the surplus. In case of necessity, however, the board may take the lead in the formation of stabilization corporations which under its strict supervision may buy up such seasonal or temporary surpluses as threaten to break the market and hold them for higher prices. A huge revolving fund, appropriated by Congress, is made available for the purpose, loans from this fund being obtainable by the stabilization corporations at low interest rates. There is much about this thoroughly respectable and conservative law that recalls the agrarian demands of the nineties. Indeed, the measure goes farther in the direction of government recognition and aid to the principle of agricultural coöperation than even the most erratic Allianceman could have dared to hope. Perhaps it will prove to be the "better plan" that the farmers called for in vain when the subtreasury was the best idea they could present.

To the middle-western Populist the railway problem was as important as any other — perhaps most important of all. Early Alliance platforms favored drastic governmental control of the various means of communication as the best possible remedy

for the ills from which the people suffered, and the first Populist platform to be written called for government ownership and operation only in case "the most rigid, honest, and just national control and supervision" should fail to remove the "abuses now existing." Thereafter the Populists usually demanded government ownership; although it is clear enough from their state and local platforms and from the votes and actions of Populist officeholders that, pending the day when ownership should become a fact, regulation by state and nation must be made ever more effective. Possibly government ownership is no nearer today than in Populist times, but the first objective of the Populists, "the most rigid, honest and just national control," is as nearly an accomplished fact as carefully drawn legislation and highly efficient administration can make it. Populist misgivings about governmental control arose from the knowledge that the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, as well as most regulatory state legislation, was wholly ineffectual during the nineties; but beginning with the Elkins Act of 1903, which struck at the practice of granting rebates, a long series of really workable laws found its way upon the statute books. The Hepburn Act of 1906, the Mann-Elkins Act of 1910, and the Transportation Act of 1920, not to mention lesser laws, placed the Interstate Commerce Commission upon a high pinnacle of power. State laws, keeping abreast of the national program, supplemented national control with state control; and through one or the other agency most of the specific grievances of which the Populists had complained were removed. The arbitrary fixing of rates by the carriers, a commonplace in Populist times, is virtually unknown today. If discriminations still exist as between persons and places the Interstate Commerce Commission is likely to be as much to blame as the railroads. Free passes, so numerous in Populist times as to occasion the remark that the only people who did not have passes were those who could not afford to pay their own fare, have virtually ceased to exist, except for railway

employees. Railway control of state governments, even in the old "Granger" states, where in earlier days party bosses took their orders direct from railway officials, has long since become a thing of the past. The railroads still may have an influence in politics, but the railroads do not rule. Governmental control of telephones, telegraphs, and pipe lines, together with such later developments as radio and the transmission of electric power, is accepted today as a matter of course, the issues being merely to what extent control should go and through what agencies it should be accomplished.

For the trust problem, as distinguished from the railroad problem, the Populists had no very definite solution. They agreed, however, that the power of government, state and national, should be used in such a way as to prevent "individuals or corporations fastening themselves, like vampires, on the people and sucking their substance." Antitrust laws received the earnest approval of Alliancemen and Populists and were often initiated by them. The failure of such laws to secure results was laid mainly at the door of the courts, and when Theodore Roosevelt in 1904 succeeded in securing an order from the United States Supreme Court dissolving the Northern Securities Company, it was hailed as a great victory for Populist principles. Many other incidental victories were won. Postal savings banks "for the safe deposit of the earnings of the people" encroached upon the special privileges of the bankers. An amendment to the national constitution in 1913, authorizing income taxes, recalled a decision of the Supreme Court that the Populists in their day had cited as the best evidence of the control of the government by the trusts; and income and inheritance taxes have ever since been levied. The reform of state and local taxation so as to exact a greater proportion of the taxes from the trusts and those who profit from them has also been freely undertaken. Labor demands, such as the right of labor to organize, the eight-hour day, limitation on the use of injunctions in labor disputes, and

restrictions on immigration, were strongly championed by the Populists as fit measures for curbing the power of the trusts and were presently treated with great consideration. The Clayton Antitrust Act and the Federal Trade Commission Act, passed during the Wilson régime, were the products of long experience with the trust problem. The manner in which these laws have been enforced, however, would seem to indicate that the destruction of the trusts, a common demand in Populist times, is no longer regarded as feasible and that by government control the interests of the people can best be conserved.

On the land question the Populist demands distinctly foreshadowed conservation. "The land," according to the Omaha declaration, "including all the natural resources of wealth, is the heritage of all the people and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes." Land and resources already given away were of course difficult to get back and the passing of the era of free lands could not be stopped by law; but President Roosevelt soon began to secure results in the way of the reclamation and irrigation of arid western lands, the enlargement and protection of the national forests, the improvement of internal waterways, and the withdrawal from entry of lands bearing mineral wealth such as coal, oil, and phosphates. At regular intervals since 1908 the governors of the states have met in conference to discuss the conservation problem, and this one-time dangerous Populist doctrine has now won all but universal acceptance.

It would thus appear that much of the Populist program has found favor in the eyes of later generations. Populist plans for altering the machinery of government with but few exceptions have been carried into effect. Referring to these belated victories of the Populists, William Allen White—the same who had asked, "What's the matter with Kansas?"—wrote recently, "They abolished the established order completely and ushered in a new order." Thanks to this triumph of Populist principles, one may almost say that in so far as political

devices can insure it, the people now rule. Political dishonesty has not altogether disappeared and the people may yet be betrayed by the men they elect to office, but on the whole the acts of government have come to reflect fairly clearly the will of the people. Efforts to assert this newly won power in such a way as to crush the economic supremacy of the predatory few have also been numerous and not wholly unsuccessful. The gigantic corporations of today, dwarfing into insignificance the trusts of yesterday, are in spite of their size far more circumspect in their conduct than their predecessors. If in the last analysis "big business" controls, it is because it has public opinion on its side, and not merely the party bosses.

To radicals of today, however, the Populist panaceas, based as they were on an essentially individualistic philosophy and designed merely to insure for every man his right to "get ahead" in the world, seem totally inadequate. These latter-day extremists point to the perennial reappearance of such problems as farm relief, unemployment, unfair taxation, and law evasion as evidence that the Populist type of reform is futile, that something more drastic is required. Nor is their contention without point. It is reasonable to suppose that progressivism itself must progress; that the programs which would solve the problems of the one generation might fall far short of solving the problems of a succeeding generation. One may not agree with the contention of some present-day radicals that only a revolution will suffice, and that the very attempt to make existing institutions more tolerable is treason to any real progress, since by so doing the day of revolution may be postponed. But one must recognize that when the old Populist panaceas can receive the enthusiastic support of Hooverian Republicans and Alsmithian Democrats, their once startling reforms have passed from the left to the right and are no longer to be regarded as radical measures at all. One is reminded of the dilemma that Alice of Wonderland fame encountered when she went through the looking-glass. On and

on she ran with the Red Queen, but "however fast they went they never seemed to pass anything."

"Well, in our country," said Alice, still panting a little, "you'd generally get to somewhere else — if you ran very fast for a long time, as we've been doing."

"A slow sort of country!" said the Queen. "Now, *here*, you see, it takes all the running *you* can do to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that!"

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## THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN 1930<sup>1</sup>

An increasing sense of historical perspective is evident in the point of view of the people of Minnesota. Like the younger Burke they have been taunted with the charge of youth, but the inexorable march of time is removing the foundations from underneath this charge. It is about a hundred and twelve years since American soldiers built the fort that became the nucleus for white settlement in this region; it is almost eighty-two years since this society was founded; and Minnesotans look back more than four score years upon their state and territory as an organized entity. The genuine "old-timers" have passed from the stage; the second generation is invested with the dignity of elders in the state community; and the third and fourth generations stand forth as the leaders and doers of the day; while a fifth generation serves faint but unmistakable notice of its mundane existence. This takes into account merely the span from the day of the pioneer to the present. Into the consciousness of the state, however, a longer perspective than this has been impressed by having attention dramatically called to the time that has elapsed since the earliest explorers of the French régime first viewed the Minnesota scene. In the year just past the two-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony has been appropriately celebrated; and the people are awake to the fact that a commonwealth with historical backgrounds that merge with the era of Louis XIV can meet with complacency the heinous charge of youth. Consciousness of the lengthening perspective of our history is perhaps at the bottom

<sup>1</sup> In the preparation of this report, which was read at the eighty-second annual meeting of the society on January 19, 1931, the writer drew freely upon the reports of the heads of divisions and especially upon that of the assistant superintendent.

of the increasing attention and interest that the people of Minnesota are devoting to their history and to the organization of their historical work. One county after another organizes a local historical society; the movement for the preservation and marking of historic sites gains momentum; local historical museums appear; a comprehensive four-volume history of Minnesota is completed; the gathering up of historical records by state and local societies proceeds at an increased pace; and in the schools and in the press large attention is given to the facts of the past and their significance. Not a turning of the ways, perhaps, but a broadening of the path is before us, as the society, cognizant of this growing sense of perspective, grapples with its tasks and opportunities, seeking in a variety of ways to make history serve the people.

The annual meeting of the society, held in January, 1930, included the usual sessions — morning, luncheon, afternoon, and evening. The local history conference and the luncheon, both held at the Lowry Hotel in St. Paul, were well attended. Evidence of the society's cordial sympathy with the exploitation of Minnesota's social history was the inclusion, in the afternoon program, of a discussion of the problem of working out a medical history of the state. The annual address, presented at the evening session, was an eloquent apotheosis of Lincoln by Dr. Shambaugh of the State Historical Society of Iowa and was much appreciated by the large audience.

The summer meeting, the ninth in its series, was held in June and was to an unusual degree peripatetic. Its purpose was to exploit the history of south central Minnesota and it included stops and sessions at Rochester, Owatonna, Clark's Grove, Albert Lea, Blue Earth, and Fairmont. The touring party numbered about seventy-five. Sessions along the way were well attended and the whole tour was adequately reported in the press. Speakers included the president of a great medical foundation, a world-famous surgeon, a graduate student of the university, an agricultural leader, two college

professors, a judge, several pioneers, and various members of the society's staff. Among the features of the meeting that should stand out in a general review are the excellent local exhibits that were displayed, particularly at Fairmont; the emphasis upon the critical point of view that marked some of the talks by local history leaders; the preliminary organization of one county historical society; and the stress placed in the programs upon social and economic history.

The active membership campaign carried on during the year with the assistance of a state-wide committee, of which Mr. Frederick G. Ingersoll is chairman, together with the publication of a volume of Dr. Folwell's *History*, has been mainly responsible for the enrollment of 151 new active members as compared with 96 in 1929. Deaths of active members numbered 39 and 111 were dropped from the rolls, but 16 who had been dropped in previous years were reinstated. The net gain for the year, therefore, is 17. The total membership at the end of the year was 1,557, including 8 honorary, 43 corresponding (a decrease of 5), 25 institutional (an increase of 6), and 1,481 active members. The number of schools and libraries that subscribe to the society's publications was raised from 181 to 192, so that the total of members and subscribers was 1,749, an increase of 29 over the previous year. The society has more than held its own in membership during a year in which depression and stringency have marked general economic conditions. It has held its own also in the face of the recent increase in dues. The number of members dropped for nonpayment of dues is large, but the dropping process, though drastic, is effective in maintaining a vital membership.

The most notable event in the annals of the society for the year was the publication of the fourth or last volume of Dr. Folwell's *History of Minnesota*. Such comments as have been received indicate that the volume is proving fully as interesting and valuable as the earlier ones. The usefulness of the set as a work of reference is greatly enhanced by the inclusion of a

consolidated index in this volume. The stock of the first volume of the history was exhausted before the last appeared, but about sixty copies were accumulated by purchase from former members and others who had not received the later volumes. The demand for complete sets soon exhausted this supply, and the indications are that it may be desirable, in time, to reprint the entire work, perhaps as a popular edition in two volumes with the footnotes and some of the appendixes omitted.

With the completion of this notable work it was possible to take up again the work on the second volume of the war history, which was not completed when the war records division went out of existence in 1929. It is expected that this volume will be sent to the printer in a few months, after which several volumes of documentary materials and bibliographical compilations will be rounded into shape for publication. While the collections of original sources, which will probably be the main publications of the society from now on, will be of value primarily to students and writers, volumes made up of material selected on the basis of general interest will be issued from time to time.

The four issues of the society's magazine, *MINNESOTA HISTORY*, for 1930 make up a volume of 505 pages and contain articles representing a wide range of historical interest. Social and economic history is well represented with articles on the fur trade, milling, steamboating, and roads and trails; the significant Hennepin anniversary is reflected in Mr. Edward C. Gale's delightful article "On the Hennepin Trail," and in the urbane address by Prince Albert de Ligne, the Belgian ambassador; and considerable space is devoted to the discussion of historical work, local and state. The articles, reviews, and notes are the work of thirty-two contributors, five more than in 1929, and many of them are by scholars of national reputation. The consolidated index to the first ten volumes of the magazine, including over five thousand pages in fifty-six

numbers issued during fifteen years, is approaching completion and will be published in a few months.

The quarterly check list of state publications and the monthly clip sheet for newspapers were issued regularly. These are not distributed as a rule to members but any of them who so desire may have their names added to the mailing lists. When the one-hundredth number of the clip sheet was distributed in March an inquiry was directed to editors as to the value of this service to them. The appreciative replies received indicate that the publication is serving its purpose and should be continued. A revised roll of members was issued in May and copy was prepared for a new edition of the general handbook of the society, which it is hoped may appear in the near future.

Toward the close of 1929 the Ramsey County War History Commission published a volume entitled *St. Paul and Ramsey County in the War of 1917-1918*, edited by Franklin F. Holbrook, and containing 588 pages divided about equally between a readable narrative and a roster. Lacking facilities for distribution, the commission turned the greater part of the edition over to the society together with a fund to cover the cost of distribution. About 250 copies were sent to libraries throughout the country with which the society has exchange relations and those Minnesota schools and libraries that are on the society's roll of subscribers. Under the agreement between the society and the commission, "Gold Star mothers" are entitled to copies free of charge on application; but, despite considerable publicity, only fifty-eight copies have been so disposed of. Copies are also available for sale at \$1.50 each, but only a few have been purchased. Mention might be made here also of the fact that the reminiscences of Dr. Folwell, which he wrote or dictated during the last years of his life, are being edited under the direction of the superintendent for publication by the University of Minnesota Press.

The number of books, including newspaper volumes and accessioned pamphlets added to the library in 1930 was

2,579—174 more than in 1929, and the total estimated strength of the library is now 171,000. The acquisitions for the year include three rare books purchased from the income of the Herschel V. Jones fund: the first issue of the first edition of Lahontan's *Nouveau Voyage*, published at The Hague in 1703; the Utrecht, 1698, edition of Hennepin's *Nouveau Voyage*; and the London, 1699, edition of Hennepin's *New Discovery*. Another notable purchase is *Adventures in Americana*, the elaborate two-volume catalogue, with facsimile title-pages, of selections from the library of Herschel V. Jones, which was published in 1928. The most important addition to the newspaper collection, aside from current issues, consists of extensive files of three Norwegian newspapers published in Chicago, Decorah, Iowa, and Madison, Wisconsin, which range from 1868 to 1911. These were received on exchange from Luther College at Decorah.

Outstanding accessions of manuscript material by gift include the original diary of Alexander Ramsey for 1864; a copy of the official roll of the Chippewa Indians of the White Earth Reservation compiled in 1920; papers of the Reverend Stephen R. Riggs, the missionary to the Sioux; papers of Clarence W. Alvord, the historian, including transcripts of valuable historical documents; transcripts of extracts from the diaries of Curtis H. Pettit of Minneapolis for 1855 and 1856; and extensive additions to the papers of William W. Folwell. Large bodies of archives of the governor, secretary of state, attorney-general, and adjutant general, and a vast quantity of records of district land offices that had accumulated at the United States land office at Cass Lake have been deposited in the custody of the society during the year. Reproductions of manuscript material acquired by purchase include photostatic copies or transcripts of documents relating to exploration, Indian missions, and the fur trade in Minnesota and the Northwest in collections in Paris, Quebec, Boston, and Washington.

Gifts of costumes and accessories, objects illustrative of

domestic life, ethnological and archeological specimens, and pictures have been more numerous than usual, but the most notable accession to the museum during the year is a collection of about a hundred and fifty objects illustrative of life among the Chippewa Indians, acquired by purchase. This includes a full-sized birch-bark tepee, various objects actually used by the Indians, and numerous models made for the collection by the Indians at Grand Portage under the direction of Miss Frances Densmore of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

The outstanding addition to equipment during the year is the newspaper stack installed in the space under the front steps, which provides shelving for about three thousand volumes. When this was finished a complete rearrangement of the newspaper files was undertaken, involving the moving, and incidentally the cleaning, of every one of the sixteen thousand volumes. The need for additional space in the main stacks, especially in those portions devoted to archives and manuscripts, made it necessary to reinstall in the shipping room the old shelving that had been taken down to make room for the war records commission after the last level of the book-stack was completed. To these shelves were moved certain files of little-used documents of other states, thus making space in the stacks for more important material. No new museum cases were purchased during the year, but the last nine of the old glass wall cases were modernized with wooden backs. The purchase of a portable vacuum cleaner, with attachments, made possible the cleaning, for the first time in many years, of the entire library, and with a minimum of labor and inconvenience.

The catalogue department devoted considerable time to special projects which do not show in the statistics, such as the complete cataloguing of all the articles in MINNESOTA HISTORY and its predecessor, the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN, and the arranging, inventorying and temporary cataloguing of the periodical files in the Swedish Historical Society collection on permanent deposit. Nevertheless the number of volumes cata-



logged, 2,869, exceeds that of 1929 by 330 and exceeds the current additions, exclusive of groups not regularly catalogued, by 891. It is evident, therefore, that some progress is being made on the uncatalogued accumulations.

Special efforts were made to catch up on the binding and rebinding of books in the main library with the result that about twice as many books were put through the process as in previous years. The binding of current newspapers is kept up to date, about four hundred and fifty volumes a year; but several hundred newspaper volumes need rebinding, and this is a difficult and expensive process because of the poor quality of the paper and the narrowness of the margins. Some experimental work was done, however, and it is hoped that the task may be completed in 1931. Little progress was made in the work of sorting, cleaning, repairing, and mounting maps during the year, but the work that has been done in previous years has made the bulk of the collection fairly accessible and usable.

In the manuscript division several large collections of personal papers, including the Folwell Papers, were sorted and arranged, the new archival deposits were arranged and inventoried, most of the volumes of federal census schedules were rebound, and progress was made in inventorying the state census schedules and the Knute Nelson Papers. The descriptive list of collections of personal papers, which was completed in preliminary form in 1929, is now being revised and prepared for publication.

Numerous special exhibits and new installations, including the new Chippewa collection, have been made in the museum. The pressing need of additional space for the hanging of framed pictures has been met in part by utilizing the walls of the newspaper room for twelve pictures of newspaper men, and plans are being considered for hanging pictures in the corridors on the first and second floors of the building.

The number of books served to readers in the main library, 29,219, was an increase of twenty per cent over the number



for 1929, though less than that for several previous years. The use of newspapers, however, broke all previous records by a wide margin. The number of readers, exclusive of members of the staff, rose from 851 in 1929 to 1,243 in 1930, the number of bound volumes consulted by them, from 1,619 to 2,133, and the number of current issues, from 3,500 to 16,000. The tremendous increase in the use of current issues is due in part to the fact that several readers have adopted the practice of examining large numbers of papers at frequent intervals for political or commercial purposes.

The widespread appreciation of the value of the society's collections is seen in the fact that they were used during the year by people from twenty-four states and two foreign countries. Several of these came to St. Paul specifically for the purpose of using the collections and spent weeks here pursuing their investigations. About forty per cent of the readers in the main reading room are genealogists and the next largest group is that of college students, but state officials, newspaper men, clergymen, writers, teachers, and club women are represented in considerable numbers.

The demands upon the society for information to be furnished by mail was not quite so great as in 1929, but a total of 204 inquiries were answered by the information bureau and 109 new reports were added to the indexed information file. In this connection it is of interest to note some of the fruits of this work. An important book recently published, entitled *John Marsh, Pioneer*, by Dr. George D. Lyman of San Francisco, is based in part on material supplied by the bureau, and the same is true of a series of historical sketches published during the year in one of the Minneapolis dailies. Suggestions and bibliographies were supplied for another newspaper series and informal suggestions are constantly being made to the increasing number of writers of local histories, historical fiction, and historical material for radio broadcasting.

The number of visitors to the museum in 1930, estimated

at twenty-seven thousand, is about six thousand less than for 1929 — a reflection, presumably of the general decrease in the number of tourists visiting the city; but the attendance of students in classes and groups, 6,268, was considerably greater than in any preceding year in which the legislature was not in session. This increase was due in part to three railroad excursions that brought in large groups from the country.

The most notable of the special activities of the year was the setting up under the auspices of the society of the Minnesota Historical Survey, the present purpose of which is the preparation of a report on historic sites, monuments, and markers throughout the state. The executive committee of the survey, appointed by the president, met on July 16, designated Mr. Babcock as director, arranged for the selection of an advisory committee of seventy, and discussed plans for operation. The advisory committee is now being made up and the responses to invitations to serve on it indicate widespread interest in and approval of the project. County historical societies will be enlisted in the work where they exist and the survey will be pushed intensively in a few counties at first in order that the experience gained there may be available in working in other counties later on. Considerable publicity has been given to the project in the press, with the result that much information has been volunteered, especially with reference to the location of the Red River trails. The information that will be assembled will undoubtedly be of great service to the many groups and individuals interested in marking projects and the activities involved will certainly serve to stimulate interest in state and local history.

Closely related to this survey but distinct from it is the project inaugurated in 1929 for the erection of markers on state highways calling attention to historic sites in the vicinity. This is a coöperative project in which the society supplies the inscriptions and the state highway department furnishes and erects the markers. Inscriptions for forty-one markers for

sites in thirty counties had been supplied by the end of 1930 and most of the markers had been erected. A demand is arising for similar markers on roads that are not state highways, and it is probable that the society will be called upon to supply inscriptions for such markers to be erected by local organizations.

Other special activities that can only be mentioned in passing include: assistance in organizing and developing the work of county historical societies; advice with reference to the installation of museums; an exhibit at the state fair centering around the theme of the farmer in Minnesota history; some fifty talks or papers by members of the staff, mostly before local clubs or societies but including three high school commencement addresses, an address to sixteen hundred citizen soldiers at Fort Snelling, and papers before four national or regional learned societies; contributions by members of the staff to various publications; the work of the superintendent as chairman of the joint committee on materials for research of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, as chairman of the Alvord memorial commission of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and as director of the compilation of a bibliography of American travel and description for the American Historical Association; the services of the assistant superintendent as editor of the publications of the Norwegian-American Historical Association; field trips of the curator of manuscripts to various points in the state and to Milwaukee and Quebec in search of Minnesota material; and the services of the curator of the museum as president of the Mid-west Museums Conference and member of the executive committee of the central section of the American Anthropological Association.

The society joined with the University of Minnesota in extending an invitation to the American Historical Association to hold its 1931 meeting in Minneapolis. The invitation was accepted and the meeting will take place from December 28

to 30 inclusive. Professor Shippee, a member of the society's council, will be chairman of the program committee and the superintendent has been named executive secretary of the committee on local arrangements. It is hoped that the conference of historical societies, which is a regular feature of the meeting of the association, and perhaps some other sectional meetings may be held in the society's building.

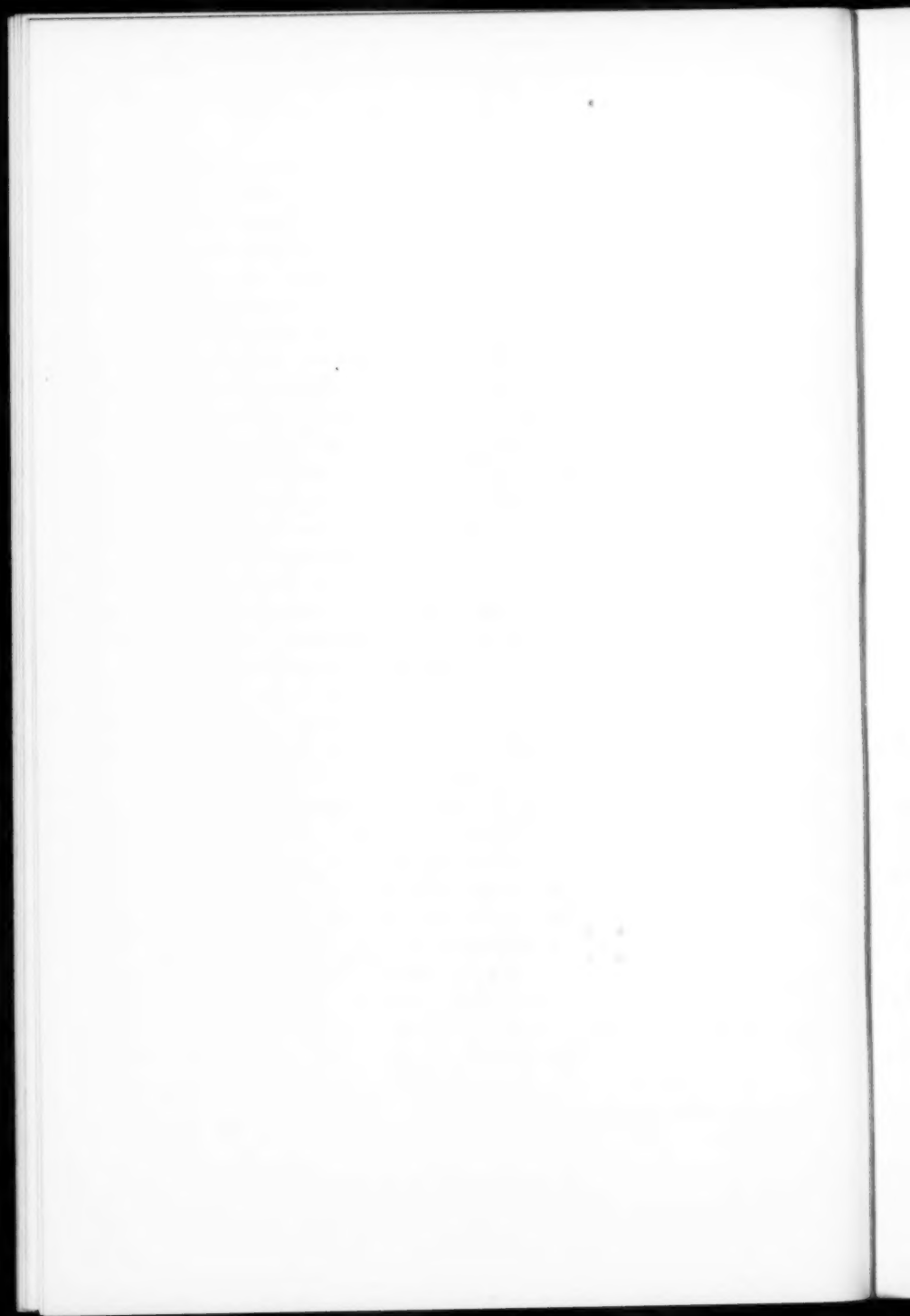
The state appropriations for the current biennium amounted to \$61,200 for maintenance, \$40,000 for equipment, travel and office expenses, and \$5,000 for newspaper stacks. The proposed budget for 1931-33, submitted to the department of administration and finance, included \$6,800 additional for maintenance, to provide for a few salary adjustments and a much needed curator of archives, and \$2,000 additional, for equipment, travel, and office expenses. This fund, which covers book purchases, binding, publication, and numerous incidental expenses, has not been increased for eight years. A special appropriation of \$8,500 is also requested for the equipment of another level in the main book stack. Only four of the eight levels for which provision was made were installed when the building was erected. One more was installed with an appropriation made six years ago, but the growth of the library since then has resulted in serious congestion. A new level of stacks will remedy this situation and take care of the normal increase for six or eight years. The department of administration and finance, in its budget, has reduced the maintenance item by \$4,800 — the amount asked for the salary of a curator of archives for the biennium — but has approved the remainder of the requests. No prediction is ventured as to what action the legislature will take on them.

The private income of the society available for expenditure — mostly income from invested funds and dues of sustaining and annual members — amounts to about twelve thousand dollars a year, and furnishes an essential supplement to the state appropriations. It can hardly be expected that these ap-

propriations will be so increased in the near future as to enable the society to expand its operations to any considerable extent, but it is not too much to hope that people of means and discernment will more and more realize that the society offers a unique opportunity for the promotion of culture and of research, for enabling the present and future generations to understand better the society in which they live through knowing more of its backgrounds. The Jones bequest of twenty-five thousand dollars, the income from which became available in 1930, and the bequest of a thousand dollars in the will of the late Frederic A. Fogg, a former president of the society who died during the year, are deeply appreciated, not only for their immediate value but as indications of future possibilities. The great development of charitable, educational, religious, and scientific endowments and foundations in recent years demonstrates that many American men of wealth feel an obligation to use their means for the welfare of society. Perhaps more of them will in the future recognize that an adequate and accurate knowledge of the past is an essential foundation for social progress.

SOLON J. BUCK

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ST. PAUL



## THE 1931 ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

About a hundred members and friends of the Minnesota Historical Society attended the opening session of its eighty-second annual meeting, held on Monday, January 19. This took the form of a luncheon at the St. Paul Athletic Club. Mr. Burt W. Eaton of Rochester, president of the Olmsted County Historical Society, served as toastmaster and introduced as the first speaker the Honorable J. Adam Bede of Duluth, who entertained the audience with "Some Personal Recollections of Minnesota Politics." Mr. Bede treated his subject with characteristic humor, keeping his hearers in an uproar with anecdotes told with a keen sense of the ludicrous; with droll tales of casual, yet very revealing, happenings in the political history of the state; and with witty accounts of some of the remarkable men who have figured in that history. Among the scenes from the mauve decade that he deftly pictured was a "four-inning debate" between Charles A. Towne and himself on the silver question, in which Towne laid the fall of Rome to the demonetization of silver, to which Mr. Bede replied that he knew that the Roman soldiers had a hard time — he was in fact acquainted with some of them — but that he was more concerned about American soldiers whose pensions would be cut in two if the "silverites" triumphed.

Mr. Eaton next introduced Dr. Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, who read some "Selections from the Reminiscences of William Watts Folwell." It was evident from these selections that Dr. Folwell, whose *History of Minnesota* constitutes so rich a legacy to his state, has left in his "Reminiscences" a supplement that will deepen the value of his *History* and will record as no one but himself could the unique personality of its author. The "Remi-

niscences" include accounts of Dr. Folwell's boyhood in New York state; of his education at Hobart College and his trip abroad just before the Civil War; of his services in the war; of his experiments in business; of his work as a teacher in Ohio; and of his career in Minnesota as university president, professor, historian, and humanitarian. In the last chapter Dr. Folwell tells how he came to write his *History of Minnesota*. The selections read by Dr. Buck made it evident that the "Reminiscences," soon to be published under his editorship by the University of Minnesota Press, will be a book of extraordinary interest.

The Honorable Henry N. Benson, attorney-general, presided at the eleventh annual conference on local history work in Minnesota, which was opened at 3:00 P.M. in the auditorium of the Historical Building, with about fifty persons, representing some fifteen counties, in attendance. In his introductory remarks Mr. Benson told of the impetus that has been given to historical interest in Nicollet County by the organization of a local historical society. One feature of the recent celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the establishment of St. Peter was the assembling of a large collection of historical objects, many of which have become the permanent possession of the county society.

Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, assistant superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, then reviewed "The Year's Progress in Local Historical Work." Quoting Woodrow Wilson's remark that "local history is the ultimate substance of national history," he suggested that the very localization of history seems to emphasize its universality, for community history, he said, has to do with what people have believed, what they have made of themselves and of the resources under their control, how they have earned their living, how they have acted in ordinary times and in crises, how they have amused themselves, worked, lived, died, with due attention to the whys and wherefores. These are matters of universal interest and



significance. In the exploration of such questions, he asserted, one also attains a new sense of the relativity of time, for as one draws away from the pioneers chronologically, one draws near them in understanding.

A year ago, said Mr. Blegen, there were sixteen county historical societies in Minnesota, whereas now there are twenty-one. The new societies are in Steele, Brown, Rock, and Sherburne counties, while in Pipestone County an old association, reorganized on a new basis, has been officially recognized as the county's historical society. In Hennepin County an historical committee, rather than a society, sponsors and directs local history activity and correlates it with the work of the state society. Taking old and new, including two municipal societies, there are no less than twenty-four organizations in the state devoted to local history work, while in some fifteen other counties there are signs of an awareness of the need of local history organization.

An outstanding development of the year, the speaker said, was the development of local history museums. He mentioned particularly Rice, Nicollet, McLeod, Brown, Cottonwood, Kandiyohi, Otter Tail, Swift, and Pipestone counties in this connection. During the year the societies have made excellent progress in the marking of historic sites, in the collection of manuscript and printed historical materials, in arranging for program meetings and special celebrations, in publication, and in the promotion of local and state historical interest in the schools. The speaker conceded that the emphasis upon the collection of old things was proper, but he expressed doubt that the county societies were giving sufficient attention to the collection of current materials, such as newspapers, pamphlets, folders, handbills, and programs. He reminded the audience of the wisdom of Alexander Ramsey, who said in 1849, "Let us save that which is interesting in the fleeting registers of the day, and which in the years to come will be esteemed rich mines for the historian. Early commenced, easily accom-

plished." Touching on the teaching of local and state history, Mr. Blegen suggested that county societies might attempt to make outlines and materials available for the use of teachers; and apropos of meetings he said that the state society would be glad to lend slides and pertinent explanatory material to local societies for program use.

The general discussion that followed the reading of this paper was opened by Mr. J. N. Jacobson of Hills, who told of the enthusiasm with which the new local society in Rock County had been launched. On its board, he said, are representatives from all the townships comprising the county. Mr. Milton Edstrom of Minneapolis urged local societies to affiliate with the state society through becoming institutional members. Miss Amy A. Lewis, formerly librarian of the Fergus Falls Public Library, gave a brief account of the materials assembled by the Otter Tail County society and placed on display in the library. Dr. Buck explained the possibilities of financial aid for local societies from the counties under a state law of 1929. Mr. William H. Pay of Mankato announced that a room in the public library building of Mankato has been set aside for the use of the Blue Earth County Historical Society.

The chairman then took up a series of printed questions that had been submitted by various county historical societies for consideration at the conference. The first related to two plots of ground owned by the Otter Tail County Historical Society, which has erected an historic marker on each. Are these plots subject to taxation? Can they be deeded to the state and made state parks? Replying to these questions Mr. Benson explained that both public ownership and public use are necessary to confer tax exemption; in the cases referred to, the purpose is doubtless public, but the plots are not owned by the public hence they are not exempt. That the plots could be deeded to the state and accepted by it without specific legislative authority the attorney-general considered doubtful.

Mr. Stanley Anonsen of Benson, secretary of the Swift

County Historical Society, was called upon to answer the following question: "Is it advisable to enlist the assistance of the county-seat teacher in the work of gathering and classifying historical materials?" In Swift County, he said, the county commissioners appropriated the sum of four hundred dollars to finance the distribution of Mr. Anonsen's *History of Swift County*, which recently was published by the local society. Mr. Anonsen expressed the belief that local societies ought to enlist the active coöperation of teachers with training in historical work. He himself had started a collection of clippings of local historical interest and had worked out a plan for classifying them. The problem, he thought, was to insure the carrying on of such enterprises, and he suggested the advisability of county societies appropriating an amount of money adequate for paying someone for the necessary part-time work that would be involved.

Dr. Buck, commenting on Mr. Anonsen's suggestions, asserted that a local historical society would not be a success until it was someone's definite purpose and business to make it so. A high-school teacher or a local librarian interested in the work of a county society might well be engaged to carry on the work for a moderate compensation. Close coöperation with the local library he considered advisable. Indexing, rather than clipping, might prove the proper solution for some societies of the newspaper problem.

Questions were raised both as to meetings and as to dues. Dr. Blegen explained the varying practices of the county societies in the matter of meetings and programs; and a number of speakers touched upon the question of dues, Mr. Pay, for example, explaining that in Blue Earth County there is an annual membership fee of one dollar and a life membership fee of ten dollars and that an annual member, after ten payments, is enrolled as a life member. Judge Julius E. Haycraft of Fairmont described the situation in Martin County, where the local society has only one kind of membership—a life

membership at five dollars. He stressed the necessity of a selected membership, but pointed out that the classes of people interested in history change continually and that there will always be a stream of new members.

Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum for the Minnesota Historical Society, then made a few remarks concerning the highway marker project now being carried on by the state highway department and the state historical society. He asked for suggestions for markers and inscriptions and added that during the past year some forty markers were erected along trunk highways.

The last speaker of the conference was Senator Victor E. Lawson of Willmar, who told of the Kandiyohi County Old Settlers' Association, which once raised twenty-five thousand dollars to finance the publication of a county history and which has recently erected a log cabin on the county fair grounds at a cost of five thousand dollars. Commenting on the value of historical contacts Mr. Lawson told how interest was added to a visit that he made to West Virginia by exploring the history of a colony of Morgantown people who removed to Kandiyohi County, Minnesota, in pioneer times.

The last session of the meeting was held at 8:00 P.M. in the auditorium of the Historical Building, with the president, Dean Guy Stanton Ford of the University of Minnesota, in the chair. The audience numbered about a hundred and seventy-five. After the presentation of the reports of the treasurer and of the superintendent, the annual address was delivered by Dr. John D. Hicks, dean of the college of arts and sciences and professor of American history in the University of Nebraska. For many years Dr. Hicks has carried on his researches in the history of the farmers' movements in the eighties and nineties. He now took as his subject "The Persistence of Populism," contending that most of the reforms that the Populists demanded in the nineties won out in the end, though they were rejected in their own day. Since the address is pub-

lished elsewhere in this number, it is unnecessary to itemize the argument. A scholarly discussion of an important subject, clearly the fruit of extended studies in a chosen field, the address also had the charm of freshness and interest, and those who heard Dr. Hicks will look forward with eagerness to the appearance of his book on the Populist revolt.

The address by Dr. Hicks was followed by an exhibition of motion pictures from the Grand Portage region taken by Dr. Buck last August with a camera belonging to the Minnesota Historical Society. In presenting the pictures Dr. Buck explained that he desired to illustrate one type of historical recording that the society is now equipped to do. Another type of photographic record was presented by Mr. Babcock in a series of still films with scenes from the state historical tour and convention of 1929.

After the conclusion of the program the audience adjourned to the museum rooms, where light refreshments were served by members of the society's staff. It should be added that, as usual, many visitors took advantage of the opportunity afforded by the annual meeting to visit the museum, the library, the manuscript division, and other departments of the society. In fact, it was with the purpose of encouraging such visits that the usual morning session was omitted.



## MINNESOTA AS SEEN BY TRAVELERS

A NEW YORKER IN THE GREAT WEST, 1867

Many travelers had recorded their impressions of Minnesota's attractions before 1867, when C. N. Brainerd visited the state. Most of these visitors went by steamboat up the Mississippi, admiring its scenic beauties on the way; disembarked at St. Paul; glimpsed the rapidly growing cities at the head of navigation; made a few notes on the capital and the Falls of St. Anthony and Minnehaha; perhaps ventured as far as the embryonic summer resorts on Lake Minnetonka; and then returned as they came by way of the great river. But here is a traveler who followed an entirely different route because his interests were totally unlike those of the ordinary tourist. He left the river at Winona and penetrated the newly settled area of southern Minnesota until he reached a prairie farm in Martin County, where lived "an old and valued friend who had emigrated from 'York.'" Thus he visited a part of Minnesota that was rarely seen and still more rarely described by outsiders.

When Brainerd left New York on July 23, 1867, his equipment included a "blank book, and a low priced lead pencil." It is safe to assume that upon his return the pencil was much reduced in size and the pages of the book far from blank, for the entries that Brainerd made therein from day to day during his travels fill forty-five closely printed pages. He brought out the record of his western jaunt, evidently for private circulation, in 1868 under the title *My Diary: or Three Weeks on the Wing. A Peep at the Great West*. This little volume is now extremely rare; a copy is in the Library of Congress and from this a photostat has been made for the Minnesota Historical Society.

Of the personality and life of Brainerd, almost nothing is known. From the *Diary* it is clear that he is a New Yorker.

In the introduction to his little volume he relates that after "five years of incessant labor"—apparently in a business office of the metropolis—he was "granted a leave of absence

of three weeks."

Overjoyed at the prospect of "rest and freedom," he exclaimed, "I'm bound West!" And west he went, by way of the Hudson River, Albany, Niagara, Cleveland, and Chicago. Near Niagara he experienced the thrill of seeing the "first simon pure log house on my travels."

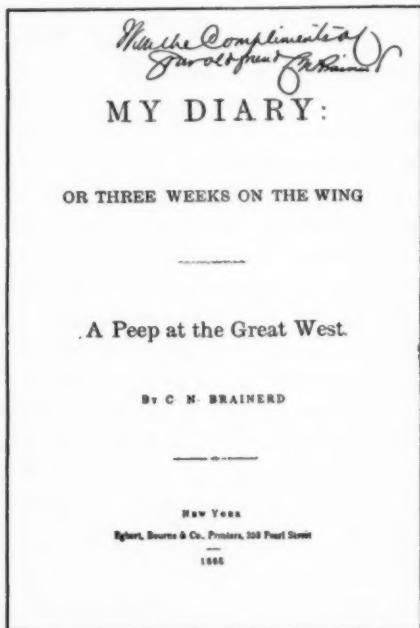
The fact that he noted it well illustrates his interests, which were centered in frontier rural life rather than in scenery and cities.

At Chicago he left the beaten path to go to Janesville and

Columbus, Wisconsin, where friends from New York were pioneering; and then he traveled to La Crosse, which he reached on August 1 and where the extract from his *Diary* printed herewith opens.

BERTHA L. HEILBRON

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ST. PAUL



REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE-  
PAGE OF BRAINERD'S DIARY



[C. N. Brainerd, *My Diary: or Three Weeks on the Wing. A Peep at the Great West*, 23-39 (New York, 1868)]

[August 1, 1867]

Twelve o'clock midnight reached La-Crosse, and for the first time in my life set foot on a Mississippi river steamboat. The vessel appeared so queer looking that I spent some time in examining the establishment. The general appearance of the craft is much like a block of three-story frame houses in need of repairs. The first deck is devoted exclusively to freight, wood, &c., and the upper ones to passengers only. The guards of the main deck are minus railing from bow to stern. The engine is the queerest apparatus I ever saw; stands on the main deck and is comparatively unprotected, leading one to wonder why it is that in the hurry consequent upon taking on freight, "wooding up," &c., they do not get things so inexplicably mixed up that nothing short of the entire engineering talent on the Mississippi would be necessary to bring order out of chaos.

When I came on board, the scene to one uninitiated in the characteristics of a Mississippi river steamer, was novel in the extreme. Two boats were lying side by side; on the bow of each was what I should term an iron basket elevated some eight feet above the deck, filled with burning pine wood, rosin and other inflammable materials. The blaze sent up was absolutely frightful, as the red glare and sparks fell upon surrounding objects. Truly, thought I, this is the most perfect miniature conflagration I ever saw, and the sooner they "douse that glim" the better I shall sleep "as we go sailing on."

I cannot speak as regards other boats plying on the river, but I am willing to take my solemn "affidavy" that this is the most awkwardly arranged boat for passengers that I ever traveled on. Not a room is labeled, and per consequence if a man feels somewhat begrimed and is really inclined to obey the scriptural injunction, "wash and be clean," and goes for that purpose in search of the wash room, he is just as likely to stumble into the kitchen, and ten chances to one he'll get into a pretty kettle of fish before making his exit therefrom, as he is to find what he is in search of.

Turned into my berth and tried to sleep, but from the fact that I haven't got used to the unearthly screech of our steamer's

whistle and the persistent buzzing of these river mosquitoes, I find it impossible to do so until about three hours have expired, when I lose my identity and the winged insects which have sung so melodiously about my ears for three mortal hours are supposed to present their bills and wait for payment.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 2D.

"Bet my money on the bob-tail nag," were the poetical words which broke in upon my slumbers about 5 a. m. Looked out of my window with a view of setting eyes upon the individual who had so much music in his soul. Was rewarded with complete success; a legitimate son of Ham stood before me, and as he wound up the chorus with an "a dudah! a dudah!" I involuntarily drew away from the window through fear of being enveloped by those mammoth lips spread out before me.

We were landing at Winona, and from the upper deck a fair view of the place was presented. From its being the terminus of the Winona & St. Paul Railroad, should say it would become an important station. Am told that the W. & St. P. R. R. runs from this point to Owatonna, thence North to St Paul.<sup>1</sup> During the winter months when river navigation is closed above this point, it is thought this road will do a fair business.

I notice one peculiarity worthy of remark, *i. e.*: That there are no docks, or wharves along the river, but simply piles driven down to enable the boats to "tie up" at some of the more prominent places.

<sup>1</sup> The reference here should be to the Winona and St. Peter Railroad rather than to the Winona and St. Paul road. The former railroad was completed to Owatonna in 1866, and from this point it was extended westward to Waseca in the fall of 1867. An "Express—Going West" on this line was advertised in the early summer of 1867 to leave Winona at 7:30 A.M. and arrive at Owatonna at 12:05 P.M., where it made connections with stages for Mankato. The St. Paul and Winona Railroad was built along the Mississippi through Hastings, and it was not completed until 1871. William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 3: 61 (St. Paul, 1926); Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, *The History of Winona County*, 1: 466, 470 (Chicago, 1913); *History of Winona and Olmsted Counties*, 109 (Chicago, 1883); Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, *History of Rice and Steele Counties*, 2: 867 (Chicago, 1910); *Mankato Union*, June 7, September 27, 1867; *St. Paul Pioneer*, July 2, 1867.

On coming on board last evening my attention was attracted to the extreme length of their gang planks, which I judged to be not less than twenty-five feet. But on making the discovery that all their landings are made without wharf facilities, I saw at once the necessity of the case.

Took a hotel buss and rode to the Bauder House for breakfast, there being no facilities on steamer for that very necessary article. Owing to a rise in the river, buss passed through the water hub deep for about twenty rods. Reached terra-firma at length, also the hotel and a breakfast, after which rode back to steamer and depot of St. Paul & Winona Railroad.

Train moves out of depot and I begin my gaze from the window.

About five miles on the way, scenery splendid — hills on either side fifty to one hundred and fifty feet above the road. Land in the valley very fine, width about a quarter of a mile, considerable timber along the route.

Fifteen miles out, hills and valley continue. Learn that the greatest objection to these valley lands is the fact that frequent washes occur, from surface water flowing from the prairie land, lying back of the hills on either side of the valley. The water upon these occasions coming down the ravines with tremendous force, not unfrequently doing great damage to property in its course.

Twenty miles out, and we begin winding around the hills, gradually rising, passing high bridges, and at some points as we curve around the brow of the hill, the ascent is decidedly pokerish. These bridges we are passing are apparently frail and by the slow progress we are making, I judge it is not safe to run faster. We pass many cuts in the rocks from ten to twenty feet high. It is of peculiar formation, — the strata being the most regular that I ever saw — indeed the appearance is very much like large blocks hewed to regular dimensions and placed in their present position by some skillful mechanic, so symmetrically are they imbedded in the hills we are passing. Just passed a large quarry from which, I am told, all the stones have been taken for abutments of bridges and general mason work of the road. Am told that the same grade of stone is found all along the route traversed

this morning, although but few openings have been made. The stone is a lightish gray and should say would make an excellent building material.

We now seem to have fairly reached the summit and are coming out on the prairie lands. They seem A. No. 1, judging by the standing crops. Buildings so far good.

See an occasional piece of timber land as we move on, although for the most part the timber has been cut off and nothing but underbrush remains.

Am informed by a fellow-passenger who is posted on this section, that the only water they have of consequence is obtained from their wells, which are dug from 20 to 150 feet deep. Same authority assures me that a residence of twelve years in the country enables him to speak from actual observation, else, I should doubt his assertion, that there is more wood now standing than when he first came into the country. He seems a man of veracity, and it would not be christian-like to doubt the statement, but I confess that my impressions, based upon observations as we have passed, were to the contrary notwithstanding.

Corn very backward, wheat and oats heavy, potatoes fair.

Pass some very pretty groves which have, I am told, been planted during the past twelve years.

See an occasional running stream of water, but should judge they were mostly dry during the dry season.

The air, as we roll onward, is positively delicious; the sun is shining brightly and I am enjoying myself "muchly."

Prairie land now seems in the ascendant, indeed we have apparently emerged from the alternation of timber and prairie, and consequently begin our gaze over the vast expanse in right good earnest.

St. Charles announced. A thriving little place, — the first that appears wide awake since we left Winona. Land about the village, prairie, with here and there a small grove just enough to relieve the monotony of the former.

Fences I notice are growing scarce, not one-fourth of the land in view being inclosed.

Land splendid to look upon; but the thought strikes me that in winter, the inhabitants must need more fuel than they possess

to keep them from freezing; realizing as I do, having wound up those high hills west of Winona, that we must be sufficiently elevated to receive the full force of the cutting blasts of winter unbroken by a friendly mountain or forest.

I can compare the view from my car window to nothing else but a vast ocean of long rolling swells, with an occasional great wave which overtops all the rest, and as the cars pass they seem to be rolling away to the eastward and are lost to my view; but others are following them in quick succession as we go rolling on.

Could I plant an occasional ridge of mountain land well timbered, and locate here and there a never failing stream of pure water, I could, I was about to say, make here an international garden for the world, capable at least of sustaining millions of its inhabitants.

Have just passed a stream of water which I am told is never failing. The Railroad Company have just finished a bridge over it — the finest I have seen west of the Mississippi. At this point there is considerable timber in sight.

"Chester!" cries the brakeman. Look for the place but don't see it — for depot with like result. One passenger stands ready to jump on the train. The train stops and the "solitary footman" carries out his intention. Another passenger reverses the movement and jumps off, and we leave the celebrated place called Chester.<sup>2</sup>

Land for some distance has a wild appearance — an abundance of underbrush but little timber. A little further on, land improving rapidly and we suddenly come upon Rochester — a thriving place of 4,000 inhabitants.<sup>3</sup> Fine farming country about it. Business about the depot extremely lively. A heavily loaded freight train just leaving the depot, bound for the Mississippi river.

<sup>2</sup> A station of the Winona and St. Peter Railroad was established at Chester, about six miles east of Rochester, in the late sixties. A thriving village grew up around the station in the eighties, but it was later reduced to a community of a few houses. Joseph A. Leonard, *History of Olmsted County*, 279 (Chicago, 1910).

<sup>3</sup> Rochester had a population of 3,953 in 1870, according to the census of that year.

Owatonna announced—a place of 2,000 inhabitants. Here the finished part of our road terminates and from this point we are told that we must enter into the stage business.<sup>4</sup> Having come prepared to adopt whatever style of locomotion is in vogue in the sections through which we might pass, we get a good dinner at a small hotel and take our seat in the vehicle which is destined to initiate us in the mysteries of Western staging.

Land here is all prairie and uncultivated. But few houses and they of the most primitive kind. There seems to be no general line of travel, but every team and vehicle takes whatever course the driver's fancy may lead him. Occasionally we get upon what seems a well beaten track, and for a time seem to have at length hit upon a generally acknowledged highway, but ere we have fairly settled down to this conviction, our Jehu takes a fancy to strike off on a tangent, and we are all at sea again as to where we are going and when we shall be likely to get there. Such a winding, hither and yon sort of course as we are taking, for the purpose, I am told, of avoiding ravines, sluices, &c., I have never witnessed before.

On every hand the uncultivated prairie meets the view. No buildings to speak of, and not a rod of fence, except some small enclosure near the cabin of a settler who has commenced life alone in this unbroken prairie country.

We meet occasionally on the road, settlers with their canvass covered wagons, moving on to their claims or prospecting for the purpose of locating. Many of these wagons (or prairie schooners, as they are here called) contain the entire household, and goods pertaining thereto. A happier set of individuals it has never been my lot to see, and I could not avoid saying to myself as we met one after another of these prairie schooners and their inmates, "In this country you have found your true element, go on your way rejoicing."

<sup>4</sup>The Minnesota Stage Company operated a daily line of stages between Owatonna and Mankato, going by way of Wilton, Peddlers Grove, and the Winnebago Agency. It is advertised in the *Mankato Union* for June 7, 1867. The population of Owatonna was 2,070 in 1870.

One, two, three, four, and five o'clock, but no change in our general surroundings. The same blank, unbroken prairie continues, and I confess the monotony is tiresome and the general appearance a little gloomy.

Have ridden all day till we bring up at what is called Winnebago Agency.<sup>8</sup> Am sore from head to foot, especially in — the seat of my trowsers. Put up at a regular country tavern, got supper and soon after, in company with a fellow stager and a tallow dip, sought our couch and dreamland.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 3d.

Half past three, routed out by the summons from our Jehu "all aboard!" Clambered into the stage amid the darkness and started for Mankato, some twelve miles distant. As daylight dawns upon us I notice we are passing through heavily timbered land, — the best I have seen in the State. Crops, where a clearing has been made, are first class. The mosquitoes through this timber are the most zealous workers, the most persistent fighters and the most unshakeoffable of any enemy, which it has ever been my misfortune to meet in combat.

Crossing the Leseuer river, reminds one of the old saying in regard to "making two bites of a cherry." First our leaders were taken over by the model ferry-boat, then the wheel-horses, and, lastly, the stage and contents. The river bank indicates that at certain periods the stream is very much swollen. The current is quite rapid and our boat, by an arrangement of guys and pullies is propelled by the current.

Reached Mankato, understood to contain 3,000 inhabitants. Breakfasted and resumed my seat in the stage and we are off for "Garden city."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The Winnebago Indians occupied a reservation on the Blue Earth River from 1855 to 1863. The village of St. Clair is now located on the site of their agency. Folwell, *Minnesota*, 1: 319 (St. Paul, 1921); Thomas Hughes, *History of Blue Earth County*, 60 (Chicago, 1909).

<sup>9</sup> Mankato had 3,482 inhabitants in 1870, according to the census of that year. The Minnesota Stage Company advertised daily stage service from Mankato "For Garden City, Vernon Center, Shelbyville, Winnebago City and Blue Earth City at 8:00 A.M.," in the *Mankato Union* for June 7, 1867.



Crossed Blue Earth river, about one and a half miles beyond Mankato, in another model ferry-boat, arranged on the same plan of the Leseuer boat though greatly superior to that, particularly as to size and appointments, as our entire establishment was taken over in one trip.

The first five miles from Mankato, land is very poor, — soil apparently a kind of black sand. From that point onward land is growing better, some very fine crops as we move onward.

Reach Garden City and stop for dinner, change horses, &c. Location of the place beautiful, lying in a basin shaped valley, with hills about it which do one good to look at, after having seen so much of level country as we have left behind us. Number of inhabitants said to be about 800, and increasing by emigration rapidly. There is one of the best water powers located here, to be found in the State. There are two large flouring mills in the place and more projected. The stream is called by the Indian name of Wattonwan, signifying sparkling water.<sup>7</sup>

There are no expensive buildings in the place, but all are of a neat, tidy character.

Stopped at Vernon Centre, an insignificant place, left the mail and pushed on for Winnebago City. Through this section the roads are fair, except in places where poles have been laid through sluices making a regular corduroy road, to ride over which, in one of these Minnesota stages (or any other for that matter) is enough to shake the daylight out of a delicate individual like myself. Indeed if my neck is not dislocated, or my back broken in one or more places by the time I get through, I shall give more credit to the architect of my frame than I have ever yet done.

Have just seen the second field on which manure has been hauled, since I entered the State. In New York, or any of the

<sup>7</sup> "For thirty years or more, Garden City township was the mill town of our county," writes Hughes in his *Blue Earth County*, 248. He notes that "In the spring of 1868, Garden City Village contained three grist-mills" and he mentions a saw mill established in 1866 and operated for several years thereafter. The census of 1870 credits the village of Garden City with but 368 inhabitants. Watonwan is a Sioux word meaning "I see" or "he sees," according to Warren Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names*, 574 (*Minnesota Historical Collections*, vol. 17).



Eastern States, this would seem a matter of so common an occurrence as not to be worth mentioning, but in this State these two cases are so widely at variance with the prevailing custom of the farmers here, that I could not avoid the temptation to make a note of it. Almost every large barn I have seen on my route, has a tremendous pile of good manure which the farmers do not seem to know what to do with. I have frequently seen it heaped up around the large doors of the barn, so high that some shoveling must be done before they can be opened. I have sometimes thought (judging from appearances) that perhaps they made it a practice of moving their barns at certain periods, to avoid handling the article. For this conclusion, however, I am not indebted for any information obtained on the spot, but have drawn entirely on my imagination.

Arrived at Winnebago City; a place of 250 inhabitants. To a stranger like myself one would naturally infer from the affix "city" that he was about to enter an incorporated town, but whoever draws such an inference is doomed like myself to disappointment.\*

Chartered a man to take me out on the prairie about twelve miles to the claim of an old and valued friend who had emigrated from "York," and whom I shall call Z—— for convenience. The whole distance lay through uncultivated prairie, and the general aspect of things was rather gloomy, — much like that of the great ocean as one looks out upon it in the dim twilight of a cloudy evening. Found Z—— attending to his stock when we drove up, whistling away — happy as a lord. Indeed I have long since come to the conclusion that in no section have I ever seen more universal, unadulterated, happiness than that exhibited on these Western prairies.

Spent the entire evening and well into the small hours of the morning in talking over the days of "Old Lang Syne" and the times when we went gipsying.

\* Winnebago City in Faribault County had a population of 326 in 1870. The word "city" was added to the name to distinguish it from the Winnebago Agency, but this was dropped in 1905 and the village is now known simply as Winnebago. Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names*, 188; J. A. Kiester, *The History of Faribault County*, 523 (Minneapolis, 1896).

SUNDAY, AUGUST 4th.

Rose at six, the sun shining brightly, and taken altogether, a beautiful morning. The feeling of gloom which came over me last evening at the twilight hour, as our horses waded through the sluices and tall grass growing therein, have entirely left me, and as I look out upon this beautiful prairie, I am lost in wonder and admiration of the sight presented to my view. I see the smoke ascending from the settlers' cabins in every direction. The numerous little groves which dot the prairie on every hand, indicating the settler's domicile, tell the story of his industry in a commendable effort to supply by the cunning of his hand that which nature has failed to furnish.

This particular section is known as Pleasant Prairie — a name at once appropriate and pleasing to the ear. The town was organized on March 7, 1866.<sup>9</sup> It is six miles square and is laid out in sections of one mile each. These are sub-divided into quarter sections of 160 acres each, making 144 farms of this size. From this however eight quarter sections are to be deducted for school purposes granted by the government, leaving 136 farms of 160 acres each, open to actual settlers.

These farms have nearly all been taken under the homestead act, and in many cases the claimants have thrown up comfortable dwelling places for their families and shelter for their stock, and have broken from three to thirty acres of prairie with a view of making for themselves a permanent home.

<sup>9</sup> As early as October 24, 1865, the inhabitants of township 102, range 29 W, submitted a petition to the county commissioners of Martin County asking that their township be organized under the name of South Creek. The petition was granted, but the organization does not seem to have been perfected at the time, for on February 20, 1866, the county commissioners received another petition from the people of this township "praying to organize under the name of Pleasant Prairie, the name being suggested by Thomas Nichols, who came from a place in Ontario of that name." This petition was granted and it was ordered that an election of township officers be held at the home of Amison J. Hodgman on March 7, 1866. As the township records begin with this date, it evidently marks the "beginning of corporate existence." Martin County Archives, Fairmont, cited in a letter from Arthur M. Nelson, secretary of the Martin County Historical Society, October 1, 1930.

The first year they can do comparatively nothing so far as realizing any returns from their lands, as the "breaking" needs to lay a year before the fibrous roots are sufficiently decayed to work advantageously. Besides a house of some kind is to be built, a shelter for their stock, is to be got ready, and prairie grass is to be cut, cured and stacked for sustaining the stock through the winter. By the time that all this is accomplished, winter is at hand, and nothing can be done by the settler for the ensuing four months, beyond the ordinary attention to his family and stock which they require. Whoever has been fortunate enough to get a few acres broken the first season, may count upon that number of acres for a crop the season following. The best time for breaking is said to be in the month of June, although there are different opinions as to that, many holding the opinion that the month of August is still better. Not being a judge as to these matters I decline to give an opinion.

The present season has been very wet, and as a natural consequence the settlers have not advanced in breaking and general improvements as they anticipated, nor as their labors warranted.

There is much difficulty experienced in very wet seasons before the breaking is ready for "crossing" as the water in many places lies on the surface of the upturned sod and will not drain off through the thick, leathery substance until decayed and cut in pieces by a thorough crossing. After it has been crossed the whole becomes in substance very much like wood ashes, but of a darker color — much in this respect like muck found in swamps in the Eastern States.

There is no timber in this section to speak of, excepting a small belt here and there around some of the lakes or creeks of which there are several in the town.

One of the first things a settler does, is to plant a small grove of trees about his house, of a variety noted for their rapid growth. These miniature groves are in the language of the settler called "Windbreaks." A person traveling these great sparsely settled prairies of the West can generally discern in the distance the location of every house by its surrounding grove. Cottonwood is the variety selected. The trunks of these trees resemble that of the sassafras, the branches and leaves that of the poplar.

The mode of locating or settling a claim under the homestead act, is something like this: A would-be settler comes into a section where government land is held. He goes over the tract (all of which has been previously surveyed) until he finds a quarter section which suits him in point of location, etc. He then goes to the government land office and requests that his name be entered as a claimant, and if there is no prior claimant, his name is so entered. The expense of this operation is \$14. A receipt is taken from the government for the money thus paid, and the settler is at liberty to move on and take possession of the claim. If he fulfills the requirements of the act, in a continuous occupancy of the premises for five years from the date of his receipt, he is entitled to receive a deed from the government, and thereafter he is at liberty to sell, trade or dispose of the property as he deems most to his interest. He has, according to the conditions of his contract with the government, six months grace in which to move on to his claim, but if he fails to do so within that time his claim is liable (in the phrase of the settlers) to be "jumped." That is, in case of failure to comply with the conditions of his contract, any person coming on the tract in search of a quarter section and finding the claim unoccupied, may go to the land office and express a desire to test the validity of the original claimant. On the strength of the application a suit is ordered, on the payment of \$5 by the applicant. The matter is then advertised and the parties warned to appear at the land office on a certain day to give evidence in the case. Unless the original claimant can give positive proof that he has not abandoned the claim; that he has been deterred from carrying out his part of the programme by unavoidable occurrences, as that of death or sickness in his family, or something of this kind in which his good faith toward the government is demonstrated, the case is decided against him, and the property allowed to claimant No. 2, who starts anew from that date. If he succeeds in establishing the proof of having acted in good faith he is allowed to retain his claim on the original document.

The first annual town meeting in Pleasant Prairie was held April 3, 1866, upon which occasion thirty-eight votes were polled.

In the month of May, 1867, the number of names registered by the town clerk was eighty-three — showing an increase of over one hundred per cent. in that time.<sup>10</sup>

I learned the cost of breaking prairie land was from \$4 to \$5 per acre. Three pair of oxen with a sixteen inch breaking plow will break one and a half acres per day. But those who follow the business of breaking by the acre commonly work four pair of oxen and a twenty or twenty-two inch plow, turning over from two to two and a quarter acres per day.<sup>11</sup>

Good horses are worth per pair from \$300 to \$500; oxen are worth per pair \$130 to \$200; milch cows are worth per head from \$25 to \$40; lumber — bass, cotton and elm \$24 per thousand, black walnut \$34, and oak \$30 per thousand. This price includes the expense of hauling from mills 18 miles distant. Butter and cheese are selling from 18c to 20c per pound. Sugar at an average of about 20c per lb. Molasses \$1.25 per gallon. Syrup \$1.60 per gallon.

Through all the uncultivated prairie lands of Minnesota, I find at certain periods of the day, especially about sunset, the mosquitoes are positively "the greatest plague of life," Nancy Black to the contrary notwithstanding. In passing through the marshes or sluices, so called, a man who has an extra amount of physical ability to wield a whisk-bush in each hand may succeed in passing through alive, but if he is troubled with constitutional weakness he stands a fair chance of being literally "chawed up."

"Smudges," are institutions which should not be omitted in this connection. About sunset on every evening during the mosquito season one may see a dense smoke rising from almost every hamlet in sight. A fire is built in front and rear of house and cattle yard, of some dry material, when green grass or weeds

<sup>10</sup> No other information concerning the number of voters in Pleasant Prairie in 1866 and 1867 seems to be available. According to Mr. Nelson's letter of October 1, 1930, "there was very heavy emigration and settlement in that section of the county about that time. It was all homesteaded from 1864 to about 1868."

<sup>11</sup> Other estimates of the amount of breaking that could be done in a day with oxen are included in communications relating to "The Study of Pioneer Life," printed *ante*, 10: 432; 11: 64, 72.

are thrown on and the fire is thus smothered without being extinguished; the object being to create as much smoke as possible. This is called a "smudge," and on the whole proves an admirable arrangement for squelching the pests of the country.

MONDAY, AUGUST 5th.

Spent the day with friend Z—, in discoursing on various subjects pertaining to the country, until late in the afternoon, when he geared up his pair of oxen, good and true, to a good, strong, lumber wagon, filled the same with prairie grass cut for the occasion, got a blanket from the house, placed that on top of whole, jumped on ourselves, bade the folks a reluctant good-bye and started for Winnebago City. The first five miles went first rate, but over the balance of the route was obliged to fight mosquitoes vigorously to prevent them from carrying me off. Allow me to say, parenthetically, in this connection, that although I am not aware of being constituted differently from others of the human race, it is a fact, notwithstanding, that whenever I make my appearance where these pests do most abound, I become at once the centre of attraction, while the balance of the company go scot free, and I go in at once and without ceremony for a regular puncturing.

Reached Winnebago City at 9 p. m., put up at the hotel and went to sleep ruminating on my wanderings.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 6th.

In company with friend Z— looked about the "city," after which got breakfast, and at 10 o'clock, bidding friend Z— good-bye, took stage for Mankato, on the home stretch.

The excessive heat and a crowded stage had the effect of making the ride an uncomfortable one. Reached Mankato at seven p. m., and put up for the night at the Clifton House— appearance of a good house and chances of a good night's rest in prospect.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The Clifton House was being run by Marcus T. C. and Mark D. Flower during the summer of 1867, according to their advertisement in the *Mankato Union*.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 7th.

Rose at 5 1/2 a. m. and took a walk through the place. Had pointed out to me the spot where some two dozen or more Indians had been executed upon a certain day not many years since, for numerous murders committed in the State upon men, women and children, indiscriminately—echo answered as I viewed the spot, “served them right!”<sup>13</sup>

Having an absolute horror of that miserable stage route from Mankato to Owatonna, concluded to take the steamer, via Minnesota river, to Belle Plain[e], thence by the valley Road to St. Paul.<sup>14</sup> In accordance with this decision, took boat at 7 1/2 a. m., and steamed down the river. The Minnesota river in the Eastern States would be considered a mere creek, though the map makers no doubt would class it there as here, a river. Thus far it has the appearance of a large creek swollen by recent rains, but I am told that the water has been much higher—that the water is now falling, indeed, that it has been subsiding for several days past. Its banks are now apparently about ten feet above the water. The current in the bends is quite rapid, but when we enter a short stretch that is comparatively straight, the water does considerable eddying. The stream is full of visible snags but how many there are which are invisible deponent saith not.

The course of the stream cannot be ascertained by consulting any map which has ever fallen under my notice, but if I were compelled to indicate said course, I should draw my will as a preliminary, before entering upon that enterprise.

In order to give some idea of the crookedness of the river one has only to consider that the distance from Mankato to St. Peter, in a straight line is twelve miles, while by water the distance is

<sup>13</sup> Brainerd is referring to the execution of thirty-eight Indians and half-breeds at Mankato on December 27, 1862. Folwell, *Minnesota*, 2: 210 (St. Paul, 1924).

<sup>14</sup> The Minnesota Valley Railroad was “opened to Belle Plaine” in the fall of 1866. The latter place was connected with Mankato by a stage line as well as by boat. Time tables for the railroad service between Belle Plaine and St. Paul appear in the *Saint Peter Tribune* for June 5, and the *Mankato Union* for June 7, 1867.

thirty miles.<sup>15</sup> The water of the river is very much like that of the Mississippi—having a muddy appearance. The shores are covered with timber, with here and there a small clearing. The banks I am told sometimes overflow, thus rendering farming operations unreliable at certain seasons of the year.

St. Peter announced. A store-house near the place of landing, but no wharf. Bow of the boat runs upon the shore, stern swings down stream, they run out their long gang-plank, a-la Mississippi, and proceed to land freight, and wood up. The place I am told contains some 2,000 inhabitants.<sup>16</sup>

Ottawa announced. But three or four buildings in sight. Am told that there are fine prairie lands east of this point but they are invisible from my present stand point. River and shores much as previously described. Stopped at a place with no name so far as I can learn, for the purpose of wooding up—took on four cords. While doing this made the acquaintance of a pet lamb which I learned belonged on board. He scrambled up the river bank and ran out to a field of grass in sight where he made haste to fill himself and returned to the boat just in time to save his "mutton." I am told that sometimes when he is very hungry he forgets himself and eats a little too long, but a slight puff from the steam whistle will bring him scampering to the boat, and not unfrequently he is obliged to make a tremendous leap to reach the deck.

Reached Laseuer [Le Sueur], a thriving little village by the river bank, said to be the point which will be reached by the Valley railroad this fall.<sup>17</sup>

Nothing of interest until we reach the point to which the Valley

<sup>15</sup> Brainerd's estimate of the distance between Mankato and St. Peter "in a straight line" is approximately correct; that by water, however, is less than twenty miles.

<sup>16</sup> The population of St. Peter was 2,124 in 1870.

<sup>17</sup> Train service to Le Sueur on the Minnesota Valley Railroad is not advertised until the summer of 1868. See *Mankato Union*, July 24, and *Saint Peter Tribune*, June 3, 1868. A statement that the road "reached Le Sueur in 1867," however, appears in William G. Gresham, *History of Nicollet and LeSueur Counties*, 541 (Indianapolis, 1916).



road is completed. The station is called Beaver. There is no depot erected, but there undoubtedly will be at some future time.<sup>18</sup>

From Beaver station we got off at length for St. Paul, by the Valley road. Nothing on the road which I could discover worthy of note except "Ft. Snelling" which is located at the junction of the Mississippi and the Minnesota rivers. The Fort stands upon high ground and seems from the hasty glance which I get of it, as we go whirling on, to be built of stone. I am told that it is now garrisoned by one company of United States troops.<sup>19</sup>

From Mendota to St. Paul, in building the Valley road, a deep cut has been made for several miles. On the south and easterly side a tremendous bank of sand stone exists; at some places its height being I should judge from 30 to 60 feet. It is so soft that a person taking a small fracture in the hand may crush it to the consistency of beach sand.

Reached St. Paul at 7:20 p.m. Much to my regret, my limited time forbids stopping, and I find that I must forego the pleasure I anticipated in viewing the falls of St. Anthony, Minneapolis, St. Paul and its vicinity.

A brisk walk of some fifteen minutes brought me to the steamer Milwaukee, bound for La-Crosse and other landings above and below that place.<sup>20</sup> They were ringing the last peal of the last

<sup>18</sup> Contemporary newspaper advertisements indicate that the Minnesota Valley road terminated at Belle Plaine during the summer of 1867, as is implied by Brainerd, *ante*, p. 59. Beaver was a town on the Minnesota River in Scott County. Minnesota, *Laws*, 1857, p. 296.

<sup>19</sup> The "field and staff" of Company D of the Tenth United States Infantry was stationed at Fort Snelling in the summer of 1867. The commandant was Colonel E. B. Alexander. Fort Snelling Archives, Round Tower, Fort Snelling; Richard W. Johnson, "Fort Snelling from its Foundation to the Present Time," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8: 445.

<sup>20</sup> The "Milwaukee" was a large side-wheel steamboat, 240 feet long, with a 33 foot beam, and of 550 tons burden. It was built at Cincinnati during the winter of 1856 and was put into service on the Mississippi between St. Paul and Prairie du Chien in the spring of 1857 under the command of Captain Stephen Hewitt. George B. Merrick, *Old Times on the Upper Mississippi*, 120, 280 (Cleveland, 1909).

bell when I reached the deck and in a few moments we were steaming down the river. The crowd of passengers was great, and in consequence I could get no state-room, but would have at the proper time (I was informed) a cot made up in the saloon, on which to rest my weary bones. The moon was shining brightly and the sail down river was extremely pleasant. We made an occasional landing, and the operation of turning round and bringing the boat up river at every landing was quite interesting to me, "a looker on in Venice," but on one or two occasions not seeing the operation when it commenced, I, like the steamer, was turned round and until I got my bearings from moon, stars, etc., I was going up stream in spite of myself. About 10 p. m., the band belonging to the steamer, made up from the colored waiters, took their seats upon a temporary raised platform in the large saloon, and having got their instruments in order, two sets were formed and dancing commenced in right good earnest, and for two full hours this was kept up without an intermission of more than five minutes at any one time. Not being a judge of such matters I am unable to pronounce upon the merits of the performance, but I may say *this* that some of the passengers made a fine appearance, while others appeared like the veriest simpletons. However I was content with viewing the scenery as we moved down the river and looked in only occasionally at the dancers as they went swinging round the circle.

Midnight, retired for the night on my promised cot.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 8th.

Rose at 5 a. m. Went on deck and found our boat lying at a place called Wabashaw. Deck hands were discharging a large quantity of hoop poles. The place does not appear to amount to much, viewing it from the boat. How much of it lies beyond the ridge I have no means of knowing. Land the mail at Alma, a place of perhaps three or four hundred inhabitants.<sup>21</sup> Directly back of the place a chain of hills rise to a great height, reminding

<sup>21</sup> This settlement on the Wisconsin side of the Mississippi had 565 inhabitants in 1870. Wabasha, on the Minnesota shore, boasted a population of 1,739 in the same year.

one of the highlands on the Hudson. Indeed we occasionally pass as we move down the river some splendid mountain scenery such as I was not prepared to see here, as my impressions were at variance with the facts as found to exist.

A fine breeze is blowing from the south and every thing seems propitious for a pleasant sail to LaCrosse — distance said to be eighty-five miles. Whole distance from St. Paul to La-Crosse set down on my ticket as two hundred and eighty miles.<sup>22</sup>

Arrived at Fountain City, a very pretty place of, I should judge, 2,000 inhabitants.<sup>23</sup> Directly back of the place are two hills, the summits of which are some two hundred feet above the water. The settlement nestled away at the base of these two majestic hills, the river which at this point has every appearance of a lake interspersed with numerous islands, would together form one of the most magnificent subjects for a painter which I ever looked upon.

Winona announced. More of those magnificent hills on both sides of the river.

Stop at Homer, a small place on the west bank of the river. Like mostly all the landings noted, lies at the base of tremendous hills — should judge the place contained some 500 inhabitants.<sup>24</sup>

Arrived at La Crosse. Got dinner at the depot and learned to my disgust, that my train would not leave till 8 p. m. Upon receiving this bit of information I was strongly tempted to "say a swear," and had it not been against my principles should have done so.

La Crosse I am told has some 10,000 inhabitants.<sup>25</sup> The place proper lies I am informed about a mile from the depot, but I am not sufficiently interested to walk that distance under this broiling sun for the purpose of seeing it.

<sup>22</sup> These distances are somewhat exaggerated. According to the government survey of 1880 the distance between Alma and La Crosse was 61 miles and that between St. Paul and La Crosse 157 miles. Merrick, *Upper Mississippi*, 297.

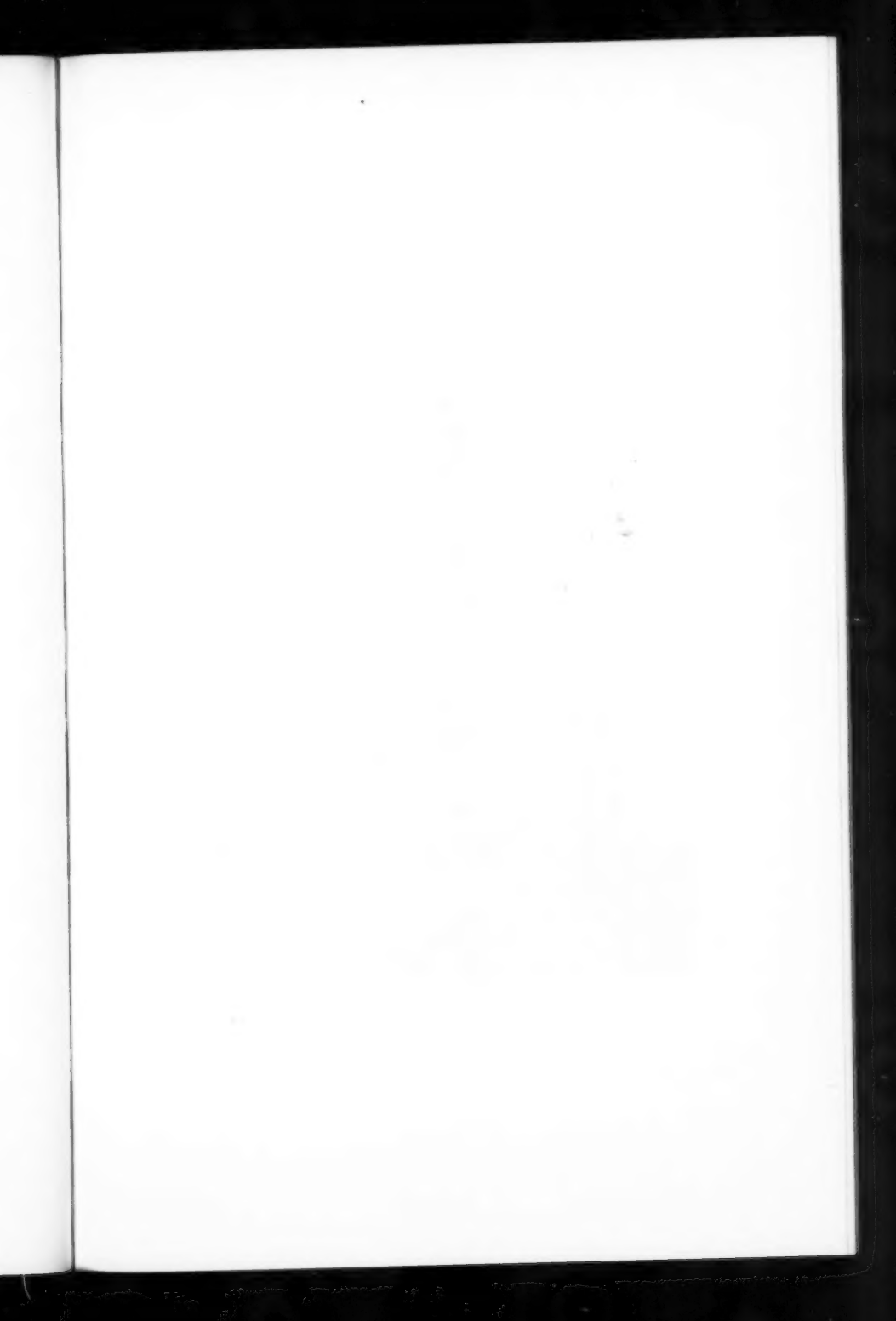
<sup>23</sup> The population of Fountain City, Wisconsin, was 867 in 1870.

<sup>24</sup> Homer, a settlement near Winona, had only 91 inhabitants in 1870.

<sup>25</sup> In 1870 La Crosse had a population of 7,785.

I notice one peculiarity about the depot which I have seen at no other place, viz: the large number of negroes alias "contrabands." They are lying about in the sun, the perspiration streaming down their faces, apparently without sufficient life to get into the shade. I counted at one time since I arrived twenty-seven of these poor, miserable creatures in a pile basking in the hot sun, seemingly, without care or anxiety as to how they are to get on in the future; ragged and filthy to an extreme, and how they will ultimately sustain themselves God only knows.

Left by train for Columbus, feeling greatly disappointed at being obliged to pass the same ground in the night a second time, as I had arranged to pass by day, and which I should have accomplished but for the unfortunate failure to connect with the morning train.





THE DUTCH WINDMILL NEAR MINNESOTA LAKE  
[From a photograph presented to the Minnesota Historical  
Society by Mrs. Leach]

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### A "HAUNTED WINDMILL"

Near the town of Minnesota Lake in Faribault County stands a windmill that is popularly reputed to be haunted. It is rapidly falling into ruin, for it has not been used since its owner and builder died. Although abandoned and decaying, it still serves as a monument to the ingenuity and industry of the Minnesota pioneers.

Gottlieb Shastag, a miller from Holland, built the mill in the early sixties with the help of his neighbors. He spent two years in the woods near Mankato fashioning the parts of his mill. Working with rude, handmade tools, he carved the various parts from hard wood. The great gear wheels, some of them ten feet in diameter, are spliced together with wooden pins. The tooled wooden teeth, which meshed to drive the machinery, are carefully inserted. The main drive shaft is a huge oak log sixteen inches in diameter. The four fan blades, thirty-five feet in length, were most skillfully constructed. Working without patterns, using only the memory of his father's mill in Holland to guide him, this dauntless pioneer carried his task to success.

Since there was no water power to turn the mill, wind power had to be utilized to the utmost. To accomplish this, the fan was built so that the blades could be set by hand to face the wind. The whole top of the mill could be turned and anchored to a post to hold the fan in the desired position as long as the wind blew from that direction. In order that the miller might enter the mill with safety from any side, a number of doors were provided. Each part of the mill was fashioned by hand. Floor, shingles, handrails, and bins are all the work of Gottlieb's hands. Even the large grinding stones, shaped by

chipping from Minnesota niggerheads, were ground and polished by hand.

No one at the present time seems to know just why the mill parts were constructed so far from the present site of the mill. Some say that the mill was first erected near Mankato and later torn down by Gottlieb and removed to Minnesota Lake. Others report that he could not find suitable wood near its present site and as a result was forced to go a distance to secure material. At all events, it is known that Gottlieb and his neighbors hauled all the parts by ox-team through the woods and over the prairies. Even the great center shaft was moved in this way. The distance was long and the roads were poor or altogether lacking, but these and other obstacles did not deter the pioneers. When all the pieces had been assembled, a "raising bee," under Gottlieb's direction, took place. How all this was managed without modern machinery is a mystery today. Putting the parts of the windmill in place must have been dangerous and exhausting work. It had to be done carefully, too, so that the cogs would mesh and the fan turn smoothly.

"The new mill," according to a newspaper account published a few years ago, "must have been a wonderful sight in the woods by the lake, and the insistent creaking of the giant blades must have sounded odd in the quiet of the primitive land. Doubtless the Indians felt at a loss to account for the strange round house with the big wings, that, blown around by the wind, turned the wheels that ground the white man's flour for him."<sup>1</sup> The settlers were glad, however, for they could now have their grain ground near home and need not make the long and dangerous trip to Waseca. For some ten years Gottlieb did most of the grinding for the settlers who lived in the vicinity of Minnesota Lake. The coming of the railroads, however,

<sup>1</sup>"The Old Haunted Windmill at Minnesota Lake," in the *Evening Tribune* (Albert Lea), December 15, 1927. The present note is largely based upon the material included in this article. *Ed.*



brought to the community the better-milled flour from the large mills; and as a consequence Gottlieb's millstones were used not to grind wheat, but to crush food for stock.

As the mill's machinery became worn with usage, it sometimes failed to function. The miller, who it appears was very superstitious, was convinced that there was a devil inside the mill. He even went so far as to attribute its presence to two of his enemies, whose purpose, he thought, was to bewitch the place. He endured five years of difficulty, but his troubles came to an end, so he said, when he managed to chase the devil out in the form of a black rabbit. In order to prevent further trouble, he refused to permit anyone, even members of his family, to enter the mill thereafter. All its doors save one he nailed up. At that one door he received grain for grinding. He did all his work alone. In 1913 he was struck on the head by one of the mill fans and the injuries that he sustained from the blow caused his death.

Never since his death has the old mill ground any grain. No one has dared to do any work there and this rare Dutch windmill is abandoned. The exterior is in need of repair and the fan is broken and dangerous; but the inside is in good condition. It is littered with leaves and dirt and the wooden gears and other equipment have been patched with nails, but the mill remains much as Gottlieb left it. The winding stairs to the hopper, where the grain was dumped, are still strong enough for the curious to climb. The haunted gear chamber, from which a black rabbit — the descendant of the original witch rabbit — may jump out is well worth a visit.

It seems a pity that this old mill is not restored to its early appearance and preserved for its historical interest in this great milling state of Minnesota, for it is a marvel of mechanical genius, a monument to pioneer industry.

MRS. PAUL J. LEACH

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*A History of Minnesota*, vol. 4. By WILLIAM WATTS FOLWELL.  
(St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1930. xiii, 575 p.  
Illustrations, maps. \$5.00.)

For fully sixty years Dr. Folwell was an integral part of Minnesota's developing course, as president of the university, as professor of political science, as university librarian, and finally as the self-appointed historian of his adopted state. In 1921 the first of his four volumes on Minnesota was published under the modest title *A History of Minnesota*. After nearly ten years his fourth and last volume is before us, completing a work of such singular quality as to merit its designation as the official history of Minnesota. The last volume is not strictly a continuation of its predecessor. In fact the entire work deviates with commendable audacity from the conventional regulations sometimes imposed by chronology. The first volume places in orderly array the scanty gleanings of two centuries' history; the second centers about the brief eight-year period during which the state's self-consciousness was developed by admission into the Union, the grim struggle of the Civil War, and the horrors of the Sioux Outbreak; the third stretches through regular procession to the year 1925; the fourth in six great essays overlaps in some degree the time-span of all the other volumes.

The chapters on "The Minnesota Iron Mines" and "Chippewa Indian Problems" are treated with such thoroughness that they offer a complete survey and may be used as the starting point for special studies. So interestingly are the accounts written that the reader can but wish that additional facts might have been drawn from the copious annotations to further enliven the pages. "Public Education" is treated rather sketchily, and the chapter on "The University of Minnesota" is intended only to supplement the volume edited by E. Bird Johnson entitled *Forty Years of the University of Minnesota*.

"The Will of the People," a theme dear to the author's heart as a student and teacher of political science, is a subject so intricate as at times to defy a satisfactory conclusion. Although the materials treated in this chapter are concrete, there is sometimes vagueness as to the purpose of the description. To the author it was "not pleasant to record that in the Christian republic of Minnesota it was deemed necessary to secure these ends [*unimpeachable elections*] by denouncing severe penalties" (p. 374). Incidentally it is interesting to note that the word "denouncing" is here used in the archaic sense of "proclaiming officially." The discussion continues through a welter of offenses, penalties, and interpretations, but concludes with the judgment that even the over-severe "corrupt practices" legislation was beneficial. Was the author indulging in good-natured irony or was he convinced that such detailed legislation was improper — or both? One conclusion is hardly mistakable. "The difficulties and evils attending elections in a democracy might probably be mitigated by a restriction of the suffrage. . . . The modern drift toward the widest possible extension of the elective franchise does not promise any such solution" (p. 384).

No one would dispute Dr. Folwell's right to select the twelve men who have merited having their deeds recorded in "The Acts of the Apostles." He was long associated with Minnesota's most worthy citizens. That he judged them on the basis of their relation to public welfare was but natural. No "captain of industry" is recognized as such in this list; these men were apostles sent forth by a sense of responsibility on a public mission.

It is, of course, impossible for all the important topics in Minnesota's recent history to be treated in a single volume. An economist might wish for a chapter on lumbering instead of a list of scattered page references in the consolidated index; one interested in a denominational college misses the pleasant references he would like to see about his favored institution; another might like to see traced the various lines of cultural advancement. Upon reflection, however, it is evident that the basis of selection has been general public interest, and the range of criticism therefore narrows down to personal preference.

Viewed in any light this work challenges Minnesota's younger historians to carry on a task that even a most generous providence finally withdrew from the author. In the gift days of his later life Dr. Folwell paid but scant attention to time's fast diminishing store. To his younger contemporaries he seemed like a tireless courier speeding on to reach a far distant goal. The art of learning he continually renewed until his work revealed that delightful combination of a beginner's enthusiasm and a master's skill. Those who henceforth read his books and aspire to write of Minnesota's history will understand Ben Jonson's tribute to his own beloved master:

Thou . . . art alive still while thy book doth live  
And we have wits to read and praise to give.

CHARLES J. RITCHEY

*America Moves West.* By ROBERT E. RIEGEL, Dartmouth College.  
(New York, Henry Holt and Company, [1930]. x, 595 p.  
\$3.75.)

Books which synthesize the story of America's transcontinental move are more than welcome. Paxson's scholarly *History of the American Frontier* has been a solitary landmark in this field of literature. Now comes Riegel's volume followed closely by Branch's brilliantly written *Westward*. Mr. Riegel has chosen to present facts rather than to interpret. He has taken a stirring title and has written in an easy and readable style a book that can be used either as a text or as a survey for the general reader. In scope he follows Paxson, who begins with the close of the French and Indian War, rather than Branch, who includes the entire colonial advance; but he gives less adequate attention to the eighteenth century than Paxson, eighty pages sufficing for the story of this period.

The strong tendency of the writer is toward descriptive presentation. Chapters on "The Great Revival," "The National Road," "The Coming of the Steamboat," "Internal Improvements," "The West of the '30s," and "The Cattle Country" are filled with engaging accounts of the perfervid religious experiences of

the frontiersmen, methods of travel by land and water, and the routine of daily life on the farms of the Mississippi Valley in the days of Jackson and on the plains a generation later. They contain a wealth of detailed and colorful facts interspersed with long stanzas of the songs of miners, steamboat hands, and cowboys. Chapters on such essential topics as the fur trade, Texas, Oregon, the Mormons, and California are well organized and clearly written.

Perhaps it is natural, considering the field of Mr. Riegel's earlier writings, that the latter part of the book is better than the first. The author seems less at home in discussing exploration and early settlement than in dealing with such matters as public land, frontier finance, and the building of railroads. The chapters on the growth of the railroad network are a real contribution. In the reviewer's opinion the book's greatest weakness lies in the inadequate treatment of expansion in the eighteenth century and of certain large questions of the early national period. The advance from the Atlantic to the Alleghenies is essentially a part of the larger movement, but it is omitted from the story. Foreign affairs with relation to the Trans-Allegheny region after the Revolution receive little attention. One looks in vain for a discussion of the political success of Jefferson in 1800 or of Jackson in 1828, and for a satisfactory consideration of the relation of slavery to the western advance.

Geography proves a stumbling block for most writers who have to cover a large area. It is unfortunate that the reader is informed that the Holston flows into the Cumberland River (p. 17), that Kaskaskia and Cahokia are "both on the Kaskaskia River" (p. 27), that Limestone was "just below the falls" of the Ohio (p. 76), that the Texas outpost of Nacogdoches was on the Red River (p. 291), and to find, on pages 345, 359, and 360, a somewhat hopeless confusion as to trails overland to California.

Among the rather too numerous errors of fact, two may be noted. On page 10, in connection with the series of four colonial wars between England and France, occurs the statement: "The American portions of this world-wide struggle for colonial domination were King Philip's War, Queen Anne's War and the French

and Indian War." On page 100 the author says: "Immediately after the purchase of Louisiana Jefferson asked and received permission from Congress to organize an expedition for the exploration of the region west of the Mississippi."

Mistakes are inevitable, however, and matters of emphasis and proportion are largely dependent upon point of view. Mr. Riegel has produced a useful and very readable survey. Aside from their general interest in the westward movement, Minnesotans will find special interest in those chapters dealing with the organization of middle western governments, the development of railroads, and the wars with the Sioux.

JOHN C. PARISH

*Henry Villard and the Railways of the Northwest.* By JAMES BLAINE HEDGES, professor of American history in Clark University. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1930. 224 p. Maps. \$3.00.)

In the preface to this volume, Dr. Hedges tells the reader that his aim is not "to write a biography of Henry Villard . . . nor . . . a history of railway transportation in the Pacific Northwest," but rather, "by placing Villard in the proper setting to make clear the factors which so largely shaped and conditioned the course of railroad development in the Oregon country." The book is essentially a study in railroad strategy with Villard as the central figure.

In the first half of the book the author gives an excellent statement of the railway problem as it existed in the Northwest with an examination of the various physiographic and economic factors involved. This is followed by an account of the emergence of Villard as the dominant figure. The anxiety of a group of German investors sent Villard to Oregon in 1874. The necessity of protecting their investments forced him to get control of that tangle of competing transportation systems therein which conflicting local interests had created. Succeeding in this, Villard found himself in a position to determine the conditions under which that great area would be linked up with the East by a transcontinental railroad, for the companies which he controlled were "a part of a

potential transcontinental, intended by Villard to be the Pacific coast outlet of all roads from the East to the Oregon country" (p. 81). He was now ready to sit in at "a game in which the pawns were topographical features of rare importance or territorial units the size of New England states, and the stakes, the commercial monopoly of the entire Northwest" (p. 61).

From this point on the story is an account of Villard's efforts to bring about some sort of stabilization. In the opinion of the author, the struggle between the Northern Pacific and Villard, which ended in the "Blind Pool," was not so much a clash of interests each seeking to concentrate the trade of the northwest coast at Portland, as earlier students have asserted, but rather "another phase of the long-standing rivalry between the Columbian gateway and Puget Sound" (p. 81). A single chapter on the land settlement policy of the Northern Pacific during Villard's presidency of that road is inserted at this point. Although the chapter is valuable to every student of Northwest history, it does not appear to the reviewer as a part of the story which the author set about to tell.

The remainder of the book describes the struggle between the Northern Pacific and the Union Pacific for the control of the Columbia gateway after Villard's resignation from the presidency of the former road. An account of his subsequent efforts to bring about a compromise follows. But geography was against such a statesmanlike measure and Villard was destined to see the old bitter rivalries renewed. Only the collapse of two great railroad systems could bring peace — the peace of exhaustion.

Great facility has been displayed by the author in dealing with an extremely complex problem and his power of organizing a great mass of material is clearly demonstrated. The book is a scholarly and sound piece of research and throws much new light on a very important chapter in the history of American railroads.

ERNEST S. OSGOOD

*The Growth of the American Republic.* By SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, professor of history in Harvard University, and HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, associate professor of history, New York University. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1930. vii, 956 p. Maps. \$6.00.)

The authors of this work have produced something refreshingly new in the line of textbooks in American history. This is due, perhaps, to their initial assumption that "the American college student should be addressed as a man rather than a boy: that the history of his country should be told to him with complete candor, without *suppressio veri* or *suggestio falsi*." The result is a clear analysis of the period from 1763 to 1917, containing the most modern interpretations of events and the results of the most recent research in many fields. The style throughout is delightful and a high degree of literary excellence is maintained. The touches of humor, or dry wit, are most enjoyable and provocative of thought on the part of the reader. There are occasional reminders of the fact that one of the authors wrote *The Oxford History of the United States*, but the collaboration of New Englander and Middle Westerner has been most successful.

There is a rather unusual and interesting allotment of space and attention to various periods and topics. The period from 1763 to 1789 is admirably treated and at considerable length. Nearly two-thirds of the 859 pages are devoted to the pre-Civil War years and another 150 to the Civil War and the reconstruction era in the South, leaving but some 200 pages for all the complexity of development since the Civil War. This later section is treated topically in a dozen brief chapters, bringing the book to an end with the entry of the United States into the World War in 1917. Quite naturally relations between the United States and England are especially well handled — the Revolution, the War of 1812, the Civil War. Social and economic interpretations are stressed rather less than by the Beards or Professor West, but the development of political parties and the evaluations of American leaders are most excellent.

It is most refreshing to find a textbook that is so stimulating and so readable. The authors have indeed lived up to their desire



to combine the scientific spirit with the "literary charm of the classic writers of American history." One can but hope to use the text with students whose ability is commensurate with the merits of the book.

ALICE F. TYLER

*The Mound-builders: A Reconstruction of the Life of a Prehistoric American Race, through Exploration and Interpretation of Their Earth Mounds, Their Burials, and Their Cultural Remains.* By HENRY CLYDE SHETRONE, director and archæologist, the Ohio State archæological and Historical Society. (New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1930. 508 p. Illustrations, charts. \$7.50.)

This volume, as its author states in his preface, is intended less for the scientist than for the average person who wants to obtain a comprehensive idea of mounds and their builders without having to digest a mass of scientific literature upon the problem. The digesting Dr. Shetrone has accomplished in a remarkably successful fashion.

In successive chapters dealing with "Early Theories as to Origin and Identity," "Distribution and Classification of the Mounds," "Architecture and Engineering," "Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry," and similar subjects, the author builds up a composite picture of the life and culture of the mound builders as revealed by scientific excavation and study of their remains. If the author draws too heavily upon the relatively high culture of the Ohio "Hopewell" people for his portrayal, it is no doubt because he is so thoroughly familiar with the cultural features of that area.

A discussion of various mound-building areas follows the general account, and the last chapter is devoted to the writer's "Summary and Conclusions." The reviewer found this final chapter the least satisfactory in the work, perhaps because of the extreme difficulty of the task here undertaken by the author. The answer to the question "Who were the Mound-builders?" as summarized on page 479, is stated in such a vague and complex fashion as to be almost worse than no answer. The reviewer has

read this particular paragraph with its final sentence, "The Mound-builders were Indians to exactly the same extent that the Indians were mound-builders," time after time, but is still in the dark as to the author's meaning.

Minnesota readers will find the chapter dealing with "The Upper Mississippi Area" of particular interest because of the way in which the archeology of their state is correlated with the mound cultures of the area.

The volume has a beautiful format and is supplied with some three hundred useful and attractive illustrations and text figures, a bibliography of major anthropological and archeological works, and an adequate index. Dr. Shetrone is to be congratulated upon his success in coping with the tremendous difficulties of his task and producing a work that will be of service to general reader and scientist alike.

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK

*Antique Dubuque, 1673-1833.* By M. M. HOFFMANN. (Dubuque, Iowa, Telegraph-Herald Press, 1930. x, 218 p. Illustrations, maps.)

This book is concerned with the lead region about Dubuque and embraces the period from the discovery to the settlement of Iowa. The far-flung voyages of Jolliet and Marquette, Hennepin, Lahontan, Le Sueur, and Perrot are dealt with to illustrate the search for the western sea, the conversion of the savages, the establishment of early military posts, and the unquenchable desire of the French for furs and precious metals. A résumé of the history of the Sauk and Fox Indians from the time of their first quarrel with the French until 1830 is followed by a valuable and extremely interesting account of Jean Marie Cardinal, who settled in Prairie du Chien long before the outbreak of the American Revolution. Cardinal ascended the Mississippi as far as Cannon River. Later he killed Abraham Lansing and his son in a quarrel over peltries and was forced to flee to the Illinois country. He was among those slain repulsing the British attack on St. Louis in 1780.

The crux of the narrative centers about the life of Julien

Dubuque, who received permission from the Fox Indians to work the lead mines about Catfish Creek in 1788. Eight years later Dubuque humbly petitioned the Spanish governor for the peaceable possession of the "Mines of Spain." He was granted a princely tract stretching twenty-one miles along the Mississippi and extending nine miles inland. After falling heavily into debt, Dubuque had, by 1804, transferred half this tract to Auguste Chouteau of St. Louis. He died in 1810 after a residence of twenty-two years in Iowa and was buried on a bluff at the mouth of Catfish Creek. Chouteau and his nephew attempted to gain complete possession of the mines, but were ultimately driven off by the Indians. Their claim to the land was denied by the United States Supreme Court in 1853.

Although the author asserts that the story of *Antique Dubuque* is quite "independent of that of the history of Iowa and the other states contiguous to it" he himself demonstrates that the lead region was but a segment in the story of the exploration and settlement of New France. The exploits of Radisson and Groseilliers, less remote to the mining region than the "momentous" Kensington rune stone and more generally accepted among scholars, are merely mentioned. Michael Accault finds no place beside the boastful Hennepin. The six steamboats said to have arrived at the lead mines in 1822 actually reached there in 1827. No steamboats are known to have preceded the "Virginia" on the upper Mississippi. It was Schoolcraft and not Pike who discovered Lake Itasca. The presence of settlers in the half-breed tract by 1830 should have been noted.

The format of the book is good, the illustrations excellent. But carelessness in quotations (p. 21) and inconsistency in footnotes mar its mechanics. One single source, for example, is referred to in a score of different ways. Moreover, volume and page numbers are sometimes incorrectly cited or even omitted. The book has an adequate index.

Despite these criticisms, an immense amount of work and an insatiable enthusiasm are represented in *Antique Dubuque* and it should prove a welcome addition to the literature of the upper Mississippi Valley as well as to that of Iowa.

WILLIAM J. PETERSEN

## MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

Since the superintendent's report, published in the present number of the magazine, surveys the activities of the society in 1930, including the last quarter of the year, only a few supplementary items need to be mentioned in the present section.

The index and table of contents to volume II of MINNESOTA HISTORY have been published and will be sent upon request to anyone receiving the magazine. Bound copies of the volume, including the index, are available at a cost of fifty cents to anyone who will send in the four separate numbers comprising the volume.

Sixty-six additions to the active membership of the society were made during the quarter ending December 31. The names of the new members, grouped by counties, follow:

ANOKA: Dr. Elmer V. Larson and Clayton B. Thurston of Anoka.

BELTRAMI: Mrs. J. F. Essler of Bemidji and Iver J. Hauge of Blackduck.

BROWN: Ferdinand Ochs of New Ulm.

CASS: C. D. Bacon of Walker.

DAKOTA: James M. Millet of Hastings.

FILLMORE: John A. Johnson of Preston.

HENNEPIN: Emil Anderson, Charles N. Buckingham, Charles H. Carpenter, Edwin G. Chapman, Robert D. Cone, Frank G. Cramer, Harvey G. Cross, Dr. John F. Curtin, Lewis F. Daniel, Henry Dittes, Dr. Claude J. Ehrenberg, Dr. Erwin W. Exley, Mrs. Luther Ford, Mary B. Towler, Elizabeth Jackson, Paul C. Jespersen, Robert T. Jones, Clyde R. Joslyn, Theodore A. Kenning, Dr. Angus W. Morrison, Leslie R. Olsen, Tracy J. Peycke, Alan A. Phillips, Mrs. Carrie B. Sheldon, Dr. Eugene S. Strout, Dr. Joseph H. Taylor, Dr. Gilbert J. Thomas, Charles S. Whitaker, and Mrs. David H. Willson, all of Minneapolis.

ITASCA: Lawrence A. Rossman of Grand Rapids.

LE SUEUR: William K. Wilcox of Elysian.

LYON: Dr. Harper M. Workman of Tracy.

RAMSEY: William T. Bell, Dr. Rolland A. Bock, Mrs. Benjamin G. Hall, Arthur J. Larsen, Ingerval M. Olsen, J. Albin Paulson, Merle Potter, George E. Scotton, George T. Snider, J. Russel Wiggins, and Wade H. Yardley, all of St. Paul.

ST. LOUIS: Albert C. Armstrong, Albert C. Gillette, Richard L. Griggs, John MacDonald, John W. Marvin, and Louis A. Thompson of Duluth, and Walter E. Englund of Ely.

SCOTT: Win V. Working of Blakeley.

WABASHA: R. E. Jones of Wabasha.

WRIGHT: Mrs. Martin F. Lowe of Buffalo and Mrs. Viola L. Ridgway of Annandale.

NONRESIDENT: H. H. Larned of Lansing, Michigan; the Reverend Walter H. Stowe of New Brunswick, New Jersey; Dr. John F. Fulton of New Haven, Connecticut; and Sigvald J. Clauson of Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

The Brown and Nicollet county historical societies and the Minnesota society, Daughters of the American Colonists, have become institutional members of the society.

The public school libraries of Boyd, Eagle Bend, Hibbing, Houston, and St. Cloud, and the Carnegie Public Library of Thief River Falls have recently become subscribers to the society's publications.

The society lost four active members by death during the last quarter of 1930: Carlos Avery of New York, October 5; the Most Reverend Austin Dowling of St. Paul, November 29; William B. Mitchell of St. Cloud, December 5; and Dr. Frederick A. Dunsmoor of Minneapolis, December 6. The deaths of A. O. Olson of New Ulm on May 27 and of John K. West of Detroit Lakes on July 21, both of whom were active members, have not previously been reported in the magazine. News has been received of the deaths of three corresponding members: Crawford Lindsay of Quebec, May 28, 1928; John T. Keagy of

National Military Home, Kansas, September 11, 1929; and Justin H. Smith of New York, March 21, 1930.

In response to the recent invitation to members to cooperate in the work of extending the society's membership, one member turned in five applications, another two, and a considerable number one each.

Dr. Paul R. Fossum's article on "Early Milling in the Cannon River Valley," published in the September number of this magazine, is reprinted in the *Northwestern Miller* for October 29. To it is appended an interesting comment by Mr. William C. Edgar questioning some of Dr. Fossum's statements and conclusions but agreeing with the general claim "that the purifier was first introduced in the Faribault mills by La Croix and that the method of 'high grinding' by millstones originated in this district of Minnesota."

Articles published in MINNESOTA HISTORY are regularly summarized in *Social Science Abstracts*.

A high school teacher reports that she has used the article on "Posts in the Minnesota Fur-trading Area, 1660-1855" by Grace Lee Nute, published in the December number of MINNESOTA HISTORY, as the starting point for a "class project."

The superintendent gave an illustrated talk on Father Hennepin at the meeting held in the Minneapolis Auditorium on October 12 in commemoration of the two-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of Hennepin's discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony; he spoke in Minneapolis on December 14 to a group of Veterans of Foreign Wars on the society and its work; and both he and the curator of the museum were among the speakers at the exercises held on November 20 near Lake Calhoun in connection with a memorial tablet erected by the Minnesota society of the Daughters of the American Colonists. The curator of the museum also spoke, on October 15, to a group of Minneapolis high school students on "Early Minneapolis"; and, on October 27, to a class of students in the Mechanic Arts High School of St. Paul on "Minnesota's

Part in the Winning of the West." The assistant superintendent gave an illustrated talk before the Edina Country Club on November 11, taking as his subject "Minnesota in the Fifties"; and on November 17 he spoke at a meeting in Faribault of the Rice County Historical Society on "Glimpsing Minnesota History through the Eyes of Contemporaries." The curator of manuscripts addressed the Virginia Study Club, at Virginia, on November 3, on the subject of Minnesota pioneer women; and she talked on "Minnesota Fur-trade Days" at a meeting on December 5 of the Colonial chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Minneapolis.

The superintendent attended the meeting of the American Historical Association in Boston from December 29 to 31 and participated in two of the conferences held in connection therewith. At the conference of archivists he spoke on "The Need of a Survey of the Archival Situation in the United States," and at the conference of historical societies he led a discussion on "Coöperation between Historical Societies and Universities and Colleges."

A full page in the editorial section of the *Minneapolis Journal* for December 7 is devoted to an account of "Minnesota's Twelve Apostles" based upon a section of the recently published fourth volume of Dr. Folwell's *History of Minnesota*. Portraits of Dr. Folwell and of the twelve "apostles" accompany the article. The volume is also the subject of an illustrated article by Roy W. Swanson in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for November 30. Touching on the selection of the "apostles," Mr. Swanson asserts that had their names been chosen by someone other than Dr. Folwell, there is no doubt that he himself would have been included.

A report for 1930 on "The Swedish Historical Society Library" by Gertrude Krausnick, librarian of the Minnesota Historical Society, appears in the December issue of the *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin*.

## ACCESSIONS

An agreement of La Vérendrye with Dominique Godé and Alexis L. Monière concerning the trade of the region around Basswood Lake, the Lake of the Woods, and Lake Winnipeg, dated at Quebec, October 22, 1748, and signed by the explorer has been reproduced for the society by the photostatic process through the courtesy of Mr. Edward C. Gale of Minneapolis, who owns the document.

A photostatic copy of a map of the region to the north and west of the Minnesota River made by St. John de Crèvecoeur for La Rochefoucauld Liancourt from an original map presented to Congress by Peter Pond in 1785 has been secured from the Library of Congress. From the same source have come photostatic copies of a number of rough sketch maps prepared by Zebulon M. Pike during his journey to the headwaters of the Mississippi River in 1805, and a carefully drawn map of the "Mississippi From the Town of St Louis to its source in Upper Red Cedar Lake" prepared by Anthony Nau and based on Pike's notes and sketches.

Transcripts of nearly a hundred letters of Bishop Plessis and Lord Selkirk and of Fathers Provencher, Crevier, Tabeau, Belcourt, and other priests have been made for the society from the originals in the archives of the diocese of Quebec. They relate to the Red River, Fort William, and Rainy Lake missions.

Photostatic copies of a letter, with inclosures, sent by John Jacob Astor to James Monroe, the secretary of state, on December 30, 1816, have been obtained from the archives of the state department. These documents relate to the clash between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Southwest Fur Company that occurred in 1816 in the Minnesota region west of Lake Superior. An article based upon these and other sources is discussed *post*, p. 91.

A list of "Names of Church members and Baptised children at Lacquiparle" mission in the thirties and forties and a list of subscribers at Judson for a key bugle purchased for Company



D, Ninth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, in April, 1863, are two interesting manuscripts recently received from Miss Dorothy H. Huggins of Berkeley, California, through the courtesy of Miss Callie M. Kerlinger. Miss Huggins also has presented an account book relating for the most part to the mission station at Traverse des Sioux, and typewritten copies of three letters written by Alexander Huggins, the missionary, and members of his family and telling of conditions at the Lac qui Parle and Traverse des Sioux missions.

The Woods-Pope expedition to the Red River Valley in 1849, the proposed publication in 1844 of the papers of Joseph N. Nicollet, territorial roads in Minnesota, and the upper Mississippi River survey of the middle sixties are among the topics noted on calendar cards for the letter books of the chief of the bureau of topographical engineers from 1844 to 1866, recently received from Dr. Newton D. Mereness, the archival agent at Washington of a group of historical agencies. Calendar cards for the letter books of the bureau of Indian affairs for the years 1800 to 1823 also have been prepared recently by Dr. Mereness.

Conditions among the Chippewa of the Lake Superior region in 1845 as observed by Professor J. T. Ducatel, and the missionary labors of Fathers Francis Pierz, George A. Belcourt, and Augustin Ravoux are among the subjects of photostats made from a manuscript and some rare Catholic publications and secured recently through the courtesy of the Reverend Peter Leo Johnson of St. Francis Seminary, St. Francis, Wisconsin. Copies of those portions of the *Catholic Almanac* from 1850 to 1865 that relate to Minnesota are included in this acquisition.

Lists of the Winnebago Indians who received money at the payments of May and June, 1851, signed by Alpheus G. Fuller and Abram M. Fridley, the Indian agent, and a number of papers relating to land transfers in St. Paul in the fifties have been added to the Fuller Papers by Miss Abby A. Fuller of St. Paul.

A contract for building a road between Mendota and Red Wing, dated May 25, 1855, has been turned over to the society by Mr.

Charles M. Babcock, state commissioner of highways, who received it from Miss Anna Hartin of Hastings.

A letter written by Levi W. Stratton in 1856, bearing on the letterhead an excellent representation of the Falls of St. Anthony, has been added to the Stratton Papers (see *ante*, 5: 504).

Eighteen letters of pioneers of St. Cloud and of Sherburne County, describing conditions in these districts in 1856 and 1857, were presented by William B. Mitchell of St. Cloud just before his death in December. Some of them were written by his father, Henry Z. Mitchell, and others relate to the family of his aunt, Mrs. Jane Grey Swisshelm.

Photostatic copies of articles relating to the missions at Rabbit Lake and Crow Wing, published in the *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt* (Leipzig) between 1857 and 1868, have been made for the society through the courtesy of Professor George J. Fritschel of Wartburg Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa.

A copy of the first issue of the *Opera Companion*, published in St. Paul on April 16, 1860, has been presented by Mrs. A. A. Milne of St. Paul. From its contents it appears that St. Paul had supported an opera company during the previous winter; and it includes the program for a performance of Rossini's "Cinderella," presented on the day of publication. Mrs. Milne has also presented the license issued in Indiana on August 30, 1849, to her father, William Pitt Murray, to practice law.

An article dealing with the long mooted question of who was in command of the white forces at the battle of Birch Cooley has been presented by the author, Mr. Robert K. Boyd of Eau Claire, Wisconsin, who himself took part in the engagement.

Seven filing boxes of records relating to Minnesota units in the Civil War, received from the adjutant general's office, have been added to the state archives in the custody of the society.

A volume containing copies of letters received by Edwin Clark while he was agent for the Chippewa at Crow Wing in 1865 and 1866 has been received from his daughter, Mrs. Dawes How of

St. Paul, through the courtesy of Mrs. Merle Potter. The difficulties resulting from the Sioux War are touched upon in many of the letters. Mrs. How has also presented an account book for the years 1857 to 1859 of the firm of Croffut and Clark, newspaper publishers of St. Anthony, whose "Mail Book" was turned over to the society earlier (see *ante*, 11:444). A number of other items from Clark's papers, some of which relate to his interest in the town site of Melrose, have been received from his son, Mr. Everett Clark of Sleepy Eye.

Transcripts of two letters of Nathaniel P. Langford, dated 1867 and 1905, made from the originals in the possession of the Historical Society of Montana, have been presented by Dr. John F. Fulton of Yale University.

A large number of letters and the first draft of an autobiography of James K. Hosmer have been added to his papers (see *ante*, 10:447) by his daughters, Miss Millicent Hosmer and Mrs. H. Willett Ankeny of Minneapolis and Mrs. A. C. Eddy of Vancouver. Among Hosmer's correspondents were Edward Everett Hale, Charles Francis Adams, James Bryce, Henry Adams, G. Stanley Hall, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and William Dean Howells.

A brief manuscript history of the Ramsey County juvenile court has been presented by the author, the Honorable Grier M. Orr of St. Paul, formerly judge of this court. Judge Orr has also given a petition, which bears many signatures of prominent people, for the appointment of Alfred S. Hall as clerk of the St. Paul municipal court in 1894.

A manuscript "History of the First Issue of Minnesota Trunk Highway Bonds," by the Honorable Julius A. Schmahl, has been presented by the author.

Copies of two unpublished master's theses, "The History of the Norwegian-Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America" by Bernhardt Kleven and "Pioneer Norwegian Settlement in Minnesota (to 1876)" by Carlton C. Qualey have recently been received from the history department of the University of Minnesota.

Brief genealogical records of the Bailly de Messein family have been presented by a descendant of the Minnesota branch, Mr. Edward C. Bailly of New York, a grandson of the pioneer, Alexis Bailly.

An interesting recent library accession is a volume entitled *De första Nybyggarna i Nordamerikanska Vestern*, ("The First Settlers in the North American West"), published at Örebro, Sweden, in 1857. It is a Swedish translation of Frans Kottenkamp's *Die ersten Amerikaner im Westen*, which was brought out at Stuttgart in 1855. The book is in two parts, the first dealing with Daniel Boone and Kentucky, the second with Tecumseh.

A plaster cast of an interesting figure of a lumberjack, the original of which was carved in wood by Mr. Oscar Sjogren, has been presented by Mr. Ben Stockman of Duluth through the courtesy of Mr. Fred Johnson of New Ulm.

Among the objects recently added to the society's Indian collection are a model of a grand medicine society lodge and a frame and appurtenances of a sweat lodge from Grand Portage, presented by Mrs. Harry Palmer of St. Paul; a full-sized bark tepee and a dog sledge of the Grand Portage Chippewa, received from Mrs. Effie M. McLean of Grand Portage; a birch-bark basket made by the Wisconsin Winnebago and given by the Misses Margaret and Frances Densmore of Red Wing; and a heavily beaded dress of a Sioux woman of the Standing Rock Reservation, received from Mr. Eugene Burdick of Minneapolis.

Recent museum accessions illustrative of pioneer conditions include two ox shoes, one hand-forged and one machine-made, given by Mr. Charles Nelson through the courtesy of Mr. Frank W. Hanson, both of Rush City; a model of a lumberjack's canthook presented by Mr. George Dixon of Cook; and a wash bench some twenty inches wide, made from a single slab of wood, given by Mrs. Thomas G. Jones of Hastings.

Costumes and articles illustrative of domestic life recently received include dresses, hats, toys, and other items used by the pioneer Red Wing families of Orrin and Benjamin Densmore,

from the Misses Frances and Margaret Densmore; needle work, fans, laces, and china, from Miss Helen G. Cotton of St. Paul; and a black silk bonnet worn by Mrs. Anne C. Evans when she traveled from Wales to St. Anthony in 1853, from Mrs. David W. Jones of Ottawa.

A peasant's festival costume from Flesberg, Numedal, Norway is the gift of Ole K. Bergan of Sacred Heart.

Additions to the portrait collection of more than usual interest are pictures of a number of former justices of the Minnesota Supreme Court, received from the court through Chief Justice Samuel B. Wilson, and a photographic copy of Niccolas Maes's painting of Henri de Tonti, presented by the Minneapolis Institute of Arts through the courtesy of its director, Mr. Russell A. Plimpton. Other recently acquired pictures include a number of early views of St. Paul from Mrs. Harold P. Bend of St. Paul; a collection of early pictures of Minneapolis from President Lotus D. Coffman of the University of Minnesota; about fifteen pictures of the Chippewa of the north shore of Lake Superior taken by Miss Frances Densmore shortly after 1900, from Mrs. Effie M. McLean of Grand Portage; a photograph of the statue of Father Hennepin dedicated in Minneapolis on October 12, 1930, from the Reverend J. M. Reardon of Minneapolis; and pictures taken during the dedication of the Hennepin statue presented by two Minneapolis newspapers.

## NEWS AND COMMENT

That "most of the significant aspects of our institutional development are to be interpreted adequately only in terms of the evolution of Western civilization" is the thesis of an article on "American Democracy and the Frontier" by Benjamin F. Wright, Jr., published in the winter number of the *Yale Review*. Contending that the Turner theory that "American democracy is fundamentally the outcome of the experiences of the American people in dealing with the west" is misleading, Mr. Wright asserts that "the frontier was never the only element in the process, and it was rarely more than a minor part of the total force which produced the degree of democracy attained in this country." It is possible that Mr. Wright does not take sufficiently into account the chronological and geographical scope of the frontier movement, which began in the seventeenth century with the Atlantic seaboard as a base. The Turner theory, it may be added, is much broader than an explanation of the origins of American democracy, for it is concerned generally with frontier influences on American life and thought.

That "life lived on the margins of civilization tends to bring about an equality of which the political expression is democracy" is maintained in an article on "The Origins of Democracy in Canada" by A. R. M. Lower, published in the *Annual Report* of the Canadian Historical Association for 1930. He considers American democracy "forest-born," but he doubts "whether social equality could work out into political democracy unless the society possessing it had not possessed certain theoretical positions as to its nature before it was projected into its frontier surroundings." He draws a comparison, in this connection, between the French-Canadians and the Americans, asserting that among the latter, but not among the former, "when pioneer conditions had passed, the attitude toward life which they had induced remained as a conscious philosophy or creed, something to be fought for."

His general conclusion on the central theme of his paper is that the Canadian "pioneering era plus the influence of American pioneer life brought about political democracy in Canada." Mr. Lower takes into account the headway made by democracy after 1867 in Great Britain, but declares that "it is impossible to believe that British political practice had any important influence on Canadian" in this respect. The author makes an interesting reference to the Loyalists, who when they went to Canada were aristocrats, bitter over their experience with popular action. The fact that their settlements fifty years later were centers for an agitation for responsible government is explained in terms of the work of the frontier, though Mr. Lower is careful to distinguish between responsible government and democratic government.

"Nations rise and fall, civilizations wax and wane, but families and communities go on forever just as if these larger organizations were comparatively incidental," writes D. C. Harvey in an article on "Canadian Historians and Present Tendencies in Historical Writing," published in the *Annual Report* of the Canadian Historical Association for 1930. "Thus," he continues, "it may be that the true interpretation of man's purpose and destiny may be found by studying the individual and the community rather than in the hasty and inadequate generalizations of world history." Local history, however, in Mr. Harvey's opinion, must not be written in a local spirit. The true local historian must have a fundamental interest in world history.

An important article not previously noted in this magazine is one entitled "The Mauve Decade of the Flour Trade," by Charles B. Kuhlmann, which appeared in the *Northwestern Miller* for July 31, 1929. It is a study of the period from 1875 to 1885, when the flour trade was in transition from the old methods of distribution to the new. "The manufacturer," writes Dr. Kuhlmann, "found that he could no longer remain passive in the matter of distribution, but must seek new methods and avenues, and push the sale of his products in all possible ways." In illustrating the prevalent trends Dr. Kuhlmann exploits materials that he found in the papers of Major William D. Hale, in the possession of the

Minnesota Historical Society. Hale was the head of the Washburn Mill Company and owned the Palisade Mill of Minneapolis and the Lincoln Mill of Anoka in the years from 1879 to 1889. "To one who has even a slight acquaintance with the changes that were taking place in methods of distribution during this crucial period," Dr. Kuhlmann concludes, "the correspondence included in the Hale Papers is both interesting and valuable. As the industry becomes more conscious of its dignity and importance, it is to be hoped that more such records will be made available for the studies of research students in the field of economic history."

A *Bibliography of the History of Agriculture in the United States* by Everett E. Edwards of the division of statistical and historical research in the bureau of agricultural economics has been brought out by the United States department of agriculture as number 84 of its *Miscellaneous Publications* (November, 1930. 307 p.). It is extraordinarily comprehensive, containing thousands of carefully classified items. As a general rule they are accompanied by brief comments explaining their scope and value. The compilation should prove of much value to students not only of American agricultural history but also of the westward movement, of special sections and states, and of American history in general. Among the topics under which Mr. Edwards has arranged his materials may be mentioned: geographic factors in American history; Indian contributions to American agriculture; colonization and settlement; land policies and the public domain; agriculture in various periods, by regions, and in the separate states; the agricultural coöperative movement; transportation and markets; agencies promoting agriculture; agricultural leaders; and farmers and political activity since the American Revolution. There is an admirable special section on Minnesota and scores of items of special Minnesota interest are listed under other topical headings. The work is one of the most valuable aids to students of American history published in recent years. It may be purchased from the superintendent of documents, Washington, D. C., for forty-five cents.

The first volume of a *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, edited by Pitirim A. Sorokin, Carle C. Zimmerman, and



Charles J. Galpin, and issued by the University of Minnesota Press (Minneapolis, 1930. 645 p.) contains an amazing fund of knowledge culled, in the form of excerpts, from the writings of people of different ages and races bearing upon the place of agriculture in human affairs. The book enables one to view a world-wide setting, stretching into the dim past, for current and local problems.

Writing of Radisson in an article entitled "The First Complete Exploration of Hudson's Bay," published in the *Cambridge Historical Journal*, vol. 3, no. 1 (1929), Irene Harper declares that he was "a man whose unobtrusive greatness has been studiously overlooked, nay, whose achievements have been obscured, whose importance has been falsified by the countries making parallel claims to Hudson Bay and the great North-West of Canada." Among other things the author contends emphatically that Radisson and Groseilliers were the discoverers of the Mississippi. She states that she is bringing out a new edition of Radisson's journals. In the footnotes to her article one misses references to Dr. Kellogg's *French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*.

The story of how the Northwest Company exploited the China trade is told in a fascinating article on "The Maritime Activities of the North West Company, 1813-1821," by Marion O'Neil, published in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* for October.

A new chapter in the fur-trade history of northern Minnesota is opened up in an important article entitled "John Jacob Astor and Lord Selkirk," by Kenneth W. Porter, published in the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* for October. Mr. Porter brings out the interesting fact that the Southwest Fur Company, a combination of John Jacob Astor and certain Canadian trading groups, including agents of the Northwest Company, was, by agreement with the latter concern, exploiting the fur trade of the northern Minnesota country after 1815. In 1816 the Earl of Selkirk and the Hudson's Bay Company were in control of Fort William and were engaged in a sharp combat with the Northwest Company. Lord Selkirk's agents proceeded to arrest on American soil, near Leech Lake, James Grant, then in charge of the Fond

du Lac department, and to confiscate his supplies, which were the property of the Southwest Company. About the same time William Morrison, the clerk in charge at Sandy Lake, also was arrested. Taking advantage of the forced elimination of the Southwest Company from the region, Lord Selkirk sent forty Hudson's Bay Company men to the Fond du Lac department. Their nine canoes, among other things, carried fifty kegs of rum for use in trading. That John Jacob Astor took grave offense at Lord Selkirk's action was natural. The arrests occurred on American soil; and Selkirk's agents were not licensed to trade in the region. Astor promptly appealed to James Monroe, the American secretary of state, to dispatch a government expedition into the area to seize whatever property Selkirk had sent into American territory and to reestablish the agents of the Southwest Company. This request was not met, but time gradually healed the difficulties. An American act of 1816 made it illegal for foreigners to engage in the fur trade in American territory. After Selkirk's death the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company joined forces. Astor withdrew from the Southwest Company, which seems to have terminated its activities about 1818; and with the development of the American policy of setting up military posts in the Indian country the hold of Americans upon the fur trade south of the international boundary was greatly strengthened. One curious item remains to be noted: in 1818 Lord Selkirk happened to visit Detroit and while there he was arrested on a warrant sworn out by James Grant. Because the arrest had been executed on a Sunday, however, he was promptly released.

The life story of "Captain Daniel Smith Harris," one of the most noted figures in the history of pioneer steamboating on the upper Mississippi, is told by William J. Petersen in an article published in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for October. To Harris "more than to any other single pioneer captain," writes Mr. Petersen, "was due the startling growth in the use of steamboats on the Upper Mississippi, the rapid expansion of their use to the tributary streams, and the constant development in speed, comfort, and efficiency, so necessary for the quick

transportation of the vast waves of immigrants moving northward."

A careful study of *Marias Pass: Its Part in the History and Development of the Northwest* by Genevieve Murray has been published as number 12 of the *Studies in Northwest History* issued by the State University of Montana (47 p.).

*The Great Western Stage-Coach Routes* is the title under which Archer B. Hulbert is editing series 5 of the *Crown Collection of American Maps*. In volume 1 of this series, entitled *The Deadwood Trails*, three routes—the Pierre-Deadwood trail, the Cheyenne-Fort Laramie-Deadwood trail, and the Sidney-Deadwood trail—are traced on some sixty blue-print reproductions of manuscript maps prepared by the Stewart Commission on Western History of Colorado College. The basis for presentation is the township, on a scale of one-half inch to the mile. Streams, ranches, stage stations, and the principal topographic features along each route are shown. Descriptions of the trails accompany the maps and an attempt is made to identify them with present highways.

An important article entitled "The Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad: Recent History of the Last Transcontinental," by Arthur M. Borak, appears in the *Journal of Economic and Business History* for November. Mr. Borak traces the ups and downs of the railroad from 1900 to the present.

Speeches given at the annual meeting of the Swedish Historical Society of America, held in Minneapolis on December 5, included one on "The Use of Historical Study," by Professor David Swenson of the University of Minnesota. "By interest in the past we express our human dignity," said Professor Swenson. "By history we are enabled to understand ourselves better and to turn our potentialities into realities." An abstract of the address is presented in the December issue of the *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin*.

For a five-year program of research under the auspices of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania the Buhl Foundation has given a grant of seventy thousand dollars, to which the his-

torical society has added ten thousand and the University of Pittsburgh twenty-five thousand. The plan involves the writing of the history of "the Pittsburgh district" at three levels: the research level, the public or popular level, and the public school level.

Of almost as much Minnesota as Wisconsin interest is an account of "Early Times in St. Croix County," Wisconsin, by James A. Andrews, published in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for December. Among the incidents related is the following: "During the summer of 1857, while court was in session in Prescott, Bayard Taylor was advertised to lecture in Stillwater, so court adjourned and a party of excursionists took the small steamer *Equator* in the afternoon." They never reached Stillwater, however, as the boat was wrecked by a tornado on the Wisconsin shore before it reached its destination.

Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg of the Wisconsin Historical Society has edited a new edition of Mrs. John H. Kinzie's classic *Wau-Bun: The Early Days in the Northwest* (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1930. 390 p.), which appeared originally in 1856 and is especially noted for its sparkling descriptions of conditions in Wisconsin in the early thirties. Dr. Kellogg has supplied an informing introduction and numerous useful explanatory notes.

In a volume entitled *Badger Politics, 1836-1930* (Manitowoc, Wisconsin, 1930. 239 p.), Mr. Ralph G. Plumb presents a brief but well-proportioned survey of the politics of Wisconsin from territorial days to the present. He deals with the story as one of struggle and evolution out of which has come the "Wisconsin idea," which, he contends, "is none other than the application of the principles of justice to human relations." The book naturally throws light upon the emergence of the La Follette dynasty.

In an article on "Iowa City: A Miniature Frontier of the Forties," published in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for January, Dr. Louis Pelzer presents an interesting picture of a pioneer community of the Middle West, with special emphasis upon social and economic conditions.

A directory of "Abandoned Towns, Villages and Post Offices of Iowa," prepared by David C. Mott, is appearing in the *Annals of Iowa*, beginning with the issue of October.

Professor John P. Pritchett of the University of North Dakota, who some years ago was on the faculty of Macalester College and who has contributed two articles and a number of reviews to MINNESOTA HISTORY, took up his duties as assistant editor of the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* with its issue for October. To that number he contributes, with introduction and notes, a hitherto unpublished letter by William B. O'Donoghue, the leader of the so-called Fenian raid on Manitoba in 1871.

A valuable study in the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* for October is an article on "Pioneer Norwegian Settlement in North Dakota," by Carlton C. Qualey, a graduate student in the University of Minnesota. "The Norwegian penetration of North Dakota," writes Mr. Qualey, "was essentially part of an inter-state migration." The Minnesota connections were many and important and receive careful consideration by the author.

*The St. Lawrence Waterway Project* by George W. Stephens (Montreal, 1930. 460 p.) is a treatise, in large part historical, dealing with the St. Lawrence "as an international highway for water-borne commerce." It is supplied with useful maps and illustrations, an extensive bibliography, and a comprehensive index.

In an article entitled "An Early Norwegian Settlement in Canada" by Theodore C. Blegen, published in the 1930 *Annual Report* of the Canadian Historical Association, an account is given of a settlement project at Gaspé in eastern Canada in the early sixties. Minnesota and Wisconsin were then the Mecca for Norwegian immigrants, most of whom arrived via Quebec. The Gaspé colony, it was hoped, would attract settlers who found it difficult to pay for transportation to the American lands beyond the Great Lakes. It did indeed attract not a few, but the affairs of the settlement were mismanaged; the immigrants found it difficult to get work; the climate seemed to them unduly severe; and after a year or two the colony broke up, most of its members removing to the West.

## GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

One of the central features of the three-day celebration marking the two-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of Father Hennepin's discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony was the unveiling of a statue of Hennepin adjacent to the Basilica of St. Mary in Minneapolis on Sunday morning, October 12. On the base of the statue, which was erected by the Minnesota council of the Knights of Columbus, appears the following inscription: "Dedicated to Father Louis Hennepin, Missionary, Explorer, Historian, on the 250th Anniversary of his Discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony, Beside Whose Fecund Waters Clustered the Pioneers of the City of Minneapolis." A message of congratulation from Pope Pius XI was read at a high mass in the basilica preceding the dedicatory exercises. The unveiling of the statue was performed by a robed friar of the same order to which Hennepin himself belonged, the Reverend Cyrinus Scheider of St. Paul, and the monument was blessed by Archbishop Alfred Sinnott of Winnipeg. The principal address was delivered by Judge Thomas D. O'Brien of St. Paul.

In the afternoon a Hennepin program was presented in the Minneapolis Auditorium. The general arrangements were in charge of a committee headed by Mr. Edward C. Gale of Minneapolis, who, it will be recalled, contributed to the March, 1930, number of this magazine an article entitled "On the Hennepin Trail." The program, which attracted a very large audience, opened with an exhibition of slides relating to Hennepin and his journey to Minnesota, presented by Dr. Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society. Mr. Gale then introduced Mayor W. F. Kunze of Minneapolis, who expressed the gratitude of the people of Minneapolis for the Hennepin statue. Mr. Walter H. Newton, secretary to President Hoover, then read a letter of congratulation from the President. Governor Theodore Christianson spoke for the state, after which he introduced Mr. J. Earl Lawler, state deputy for the Knights of Columbus, and Mr. George P. Borglum, the consular agent of France, both of whom spoke briefly. The principal address of the afternoon was to have been delivered by Prince Albert de

Ligne, the Belgian ambassador to the United States. He was unable to be present, but he was represented by the first secretary of the Belgian legation, the Viscount de Lantsheere, who read the ambassador's urbane and charming paper "Father Hennepin, Belgian," which was published in full in the December number of this magazine. The program was brought to a close by an informing address on "The Indian Historical Record of the Visit of Father Hennepin" by the noted Indian author, Dr. Charles Eastman. An interesting article by H. M. Hitchcock telling of the career of Dr. Eastman appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for September 28 under the title "An Indian Returns Home." The *Journal*, it may also be noted, published "Father Hennepin's Own Story" in its issue for October 12, drawing its material from Hennepin's *Description of Louisiana*. Among numerous printed items occasioned by the celebration were editorials in both the *Minneapolis Journal* and the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* attempting to appraise Hennepin's importance in the light of the historical criticism that has centered about his writings.

The initial number of a new historical quarterly, the *Southern Minnesotan*, a magazine "dedicated to the preservation of the interesting history of southern Minnesota," appeared in December. The editor is Mr. Win V. Working of Blakeley, whose long experience in newspaper work and in gathering local history materials makes him peculiarly fitted for the task of publishing this quarterly. A variety of subjects are dealt with in the first issue. The fact that the "city of Gaylord passes its fiftieth milestone" is noted in the heading of an article about the history of the county seat of Sibley County. A famous Nicollet County murder case, that of John Wellner in 1898, is reviewed; an account by Mrs. Helen Carrothers McNanney of her experiences in the Sioux War is reprinted from a St. Paul newspaper of 1894; Glencoe's position as an "important stage route hub" of pioneer days is made known; the history of the Faribault house at Shakopee is related; and the experiences of a pioneer Le Sueur family, that of Mortimer Tousley, are described. An editorial contains the following interesting statement: "We will welcome the cooperation of all historical societies in Southern Minnesota,



and will be glad to offer special departments herein where the activities of the societies can be portrayed each quarter."

A mass of useful information on such important topics as state, county, city, and village government in Minnesota; taxation and finance; public utilities; fire insurance rates; and election processes appears in the *Minnesota Year Book* for 1930, issued by the League of Minnesota Municipalities (Minneapolis, 1930. 326 p.). The sections devoted to analyses of the work of the various state departments are models of concise, well-arranged tabulations of data. The volume includes a "Calendar of Minnesota Government" covering the period from June 1, 1930, to July 1, 1931, and lists of civic and commerce associations in Minnesota and of state and national associations that serve municipalities. In an introductory note the League indicates that eventually there may be brought out "a more complete work giving to our officials and citizens a greater fund of information to interpret governmental trends and conditions."

A pictorial historical map of Minnesota is being prepared by the Minneapolis College Women's Club.

A map of Minnesota in 1849, displayed at the Itasca County fair in August, 1930, is the subject of an article in the *Grand Rapids Herald-Review* for November 19. The map was found among the papers of John F. Aiton, the missionary, some of whose pioneer adventures in Minnesota are described in the article.

A brief description of "Early Minnesota Imprints" by L. Nelson Nichols, published in the *American Printer* for July, 1929, is an article of considerable interest that has not heretofore been noted in this magazine. Reproductions of title pages of a number of books and pamphlets issued in the fifties illustrate the article.

"To perpetuate the memory of the Sioux or Dakota Indians who occupied this region for more than two centuries prior to the treaties of 1851" reads the inscription on a bronze tablet placed on the site of Cloudman's village on Lake Calhoun by the Minnesota society, Daughters of the American Colonists. The marker, which also contains in relief a copy of a map of the vicinity of the



village drawn by the missionary, Samuel Pond, was dedicated on November 20. Among the speakers were Mayor W. F. Kunze of Minneapolis and Dr. Solon J. Buck and Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock of the Minnesota Historical Society.

In an illustrated feature article on the "Abbey of St. John's" at Collegeville, published in the magazine section of the *Minneapolis Journal* for October 5, Florence Lehmann presents some information about the beginnings of the Benedictine order in Minnesota and the development of its community and school at Collegeville.

In the 1929 and 1930 *Year Books* of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor the story of that organization, which has been appearing in these annuals for a number of years, is continued with chapters 17 and 18 of its "Legislative History." The two installments deal in considerable detail with the period from 1907 to 1911.

The acquisition of the papers of Cadwallader C. Washburn of Mineral Point, Wisconsin, by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin will interest Minnesotans, for the collection contains a number of important letters by W. D. Washburn relating to Minneapolis and the milling business.

"The Vanishing Lumberjacks" are the subject of two articles by E. H. Pelton in the *Daily Times and Daily Journal-Press* of St. Cloud for November 8 and 16, in which the writer deals with the life and work of the old-time hero of the north woods.

Two Minnesota men, Clarence H. Eckles and Theophilus L. Haecker, are included among *The Ten Master Minds of Dairying* whose achievements form the subject matter of a pamphlet with that title published at Des Moines in 1930 by the magazine *Successful Farming*. The account of Professor Eckles is by E. M. Harmon and that of Professor Haecker by W. A. Gordon. The other eight "master minds" are Stephen M. Babcock, William D. Hoard, Carl G. P. De Laval, Elmer V. McCollum, Louis Pasteur, Gail Borden, William A. Henry, and Otto F. Hunziker.

Discussing the *Sources of Power on Minnesota Farms*, Mr. W. L. Cavert, in number 262 of the Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station's *Bulletins* issued in February, 1930, shows how the horse has gradually lost his old supremacy on the farm. A statistical analysis, based upon 541 farms, indicates that 31 per cent of the power now used is furnished by automobiles, 30 by horses, 23 by tractors, 7 by trucks, 6 by stationary gas engines, and 3 by steam engines and electric motors.

The portion of the diary of Captain Thomas P. Gere that relates to his experiences at Fort Ridgely during the Sioux War of 1862 is published in the *Chatfield News-Democrat* for November 6, 13, and 20. The original diary is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

The Spanish-American War services of Herbert L. Keeler of St. Paul are described as "A Forgotten Heroism" by Robert Cary in an article contributed to the December issue of the *Saint Paul Magazine*. Quotations from the diary and correspondence of the soldier, who served in the Philippines, are included.

Several related Norwegian-American families named Harstad, which were well represented in southern Minnesota pioneering, are dealt with in a genealogical work entitled *A Short Record of Some Families from Saetersdal, Norway*, by Bjug A. Harstad (Parkland, Washington, 1930. 64 p.).

#### LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

A pageant reviewing the history of the First Presbyterian Church of Mankato was presented on October 4 in connection with the celebration of its seventy-fifth anniversary.

A drawing of the first schoolhouse in Sleepy Eye—a log structure erected in 1857—appears, with a brief explanatory sketch, in the *Minnesota Journal of Education* for September, 1930.

A school annual of unusual interest is the *Purple and Gold* for 1930, issued by the senior class of the Montevideo High School.

It includes a series of drawings, accompanied by brief historical notes, illustrating scenes of Indian life, the coming of the *voyageurs*, the staking out of land by settlers, the raising of the log cabin, the plowing of the first furrow, and the beginnings of a log-cabin school in the county. A picture of Montevideo in the seventies adds to the interest of the volume.

Attention is called to the passing of half a century since the Moorhead fire department was organized in a group of articles dealing with its history and published in the *Moorhead Daily News* for December 27. Some early pictures of this organization also appear in the issue.

A dinner and a program of reminiscent talks were the features of a joint meeting of the historical society and the old settlers' association of Cottonwood County held at Windom on November 7. In the name of the county fair board the society was offered "land in the Fair Grounds for the erection of a Historical Building to house records and heirlooms of the former days."

Mr. D. R. Savage contributes his recollections of the October blizzard of 1880 at Windom to the *Cottonwood County Citizen* of Windom for October 22; and the entries in the diary of M. N. Cadwell for October 15, 16, and 17, 1880, giving a contemporary account of the blizzard, are printed in the issue for October 29.

The history of the public schools of Mountain Lake is traced from 1902 to the present by Mary Borgen in the *Mountain Lake Observer* for December 11. The records of the board of education seem to have been used in the preparation of the article.

The site of Fort Ripley is included in a purchase of ground for a National Guard encampment to be known as Camp Ripley. Here the remains of the old fort will be preserved, according to an announcement published in the *Brainerd Daily Dispatch* for October 8.

Some recollections of Mr. Edward Crust, who has been a member of the Brainerd fire department since 1883, are included in a survey of the history of that organization published in the *Brainerd*

*Daily Dispatch* for December 31. Mr. Crust recalls that in Brainerd's pioneer days there was "quite a rivalry among the various companies when a general alarm was sounded. Each would attempt to reach the fire first." A picture of the pioneer fire fighters of 1883 appears with the article.

The story of the Faribault County homestead on which William Stauffer settled in 1856 and of the spacious home that he built there is recorded by Lily B. Derby in the *Fairmont Daily Sentinel* for December 29.

The program presented for the annual meeting of the Goodhue County Historical Society at Red Wing on November 24 included a paper by Mr. C. A. Rasmussen on "Old Indian Trails," a talk by Miss Margaret Densmore on the society's plan for marking historic sites in the county, and an account by Miss A. E. Willard of the organization's visit to the Minnesota Historical Building in St. Paul in June. The following officers were elected for the coming year: Mr. Rasmussen, president; Miss Frances Densmore, first vice president; Judge Charles P. Hall, second vice president; Miss Rosalie Youngdahl, secretary; and Mrs. J. E. Enz, treasurer.

The letters written during the Sioux War by Adam Hair, a member of Company D, Eighth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, to his wife at Chatfield are quoted in an article by Kathryn F. Gorman in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for November 9. Hair was killed by the Indians while stationed at Pomme de Terre in May, 1863. His letters are now in the possession of Mrs. O. H. Turner of St. Paul, a daughter of Mrs. Hair. According to this account the graves of Hair and two soldiers who were killed with him are to be marked by the American Legion of Elbow Lake.

A brief "History of the Village of Houston" prepared by a local high school student, Eunice Bersell, appears in the *Houston Signal* for October 23. Some of the writer's information was derived from an interview with a pioneer woman.

The beginnings of the Catholic colony at Minneota are recalled in an article by the Reverend J. P. O'Donnell dealing with the

history of St. Edward's Church, in the *Minneota Mascot* for October 10. The church was founded in 1880, when a parish was organized by English and Irish immigrants who had been induced to join the Minneota colony as a result of the activities of Archbishop Ireland. The fiftieth anniversary of the church was celebrated on October 13 with special services. At that time the history of the church was reviewed by Father W. J. Stewart, who served the congregation as pastor from 1905 to 1925.

The history of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Balaton in Lyon County is related in a mimeographed pamphlet entitled *Fifty Years for Christ* (Balaton, 1930. 32 p.).

A valuable and detailed contribution to the history of Martin County is a "History of Jay Township," by Anna J. Larsen, the first installment of which appears in the *Fairmont Daily Sentinel* for December 6. Other installments of the narrative, which was "compiled for the Martin County Historical Society," appear in the issues for December 20, 22, and 24. One of the interesting features of the history is an account of the "Green Bay colony" composed of Belgian immigrants and located on Ten Mile Creek.

The matter of building "an addition to the St. Peter public library to house a county historical museum" was discussed at a meeting of the executive board of the Nicollet County Historical Society held at St. Peter on October 18. A committee consisting of Judge Henry Moll, Mrs. H. L. Stark, and Miss Laura Lauman was appointed to determine the expense of such a project and to devise means for raising funds. In the meantime the society's collections will be housed in one of the buildings of Gustavus Adolphus College.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the celebration on October 2 of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of St. Peter was the publication, as a supplement to the *St. Peter Herald* for October 1, of a history of the community (104 p.). The editors look upon this as a sequel to Hughes and Brown's *Old Traverse des Sioux* (reviewed *ante*, 11:87-89), and they have placed copies in every school library in Nicollet County. The

volume opens with a general account of the founding of St. Peter in 1853 and of early years there; this is followed by a sketch of the St. Peter Company, which originally promoted the town site; a brief biography of William B. Dodd, the first settler; and sketches of some of the city's "notables." The history of Gustavus Adolphus College is presented in some detail by Dr. Conrad Peterson; churches and local organizations are described individually; and a number of local industries are discussed. Among the subjects of other articles are "Judge Moll's Recollections," St. Peter physicians, the post office, the public library, "Court House Lore," newspapers, the sawmill established at Kasota by Joseph W. Babcock, the public schools, and the state hospital. Numerous excellent illustrations appear throughout the volume, but one, a portrait of Captain and Mrs. Dodd which appears on the cover, is especially noteworthy.

The diamond jubilee celebration was a marked success and was attended by about ten thousand people. An historical program was presented at Gorman Park in the afternoon, when the speakers included Judge Henry Moll, Governor Christianson, Congressman August H. Andreson, and Attorney-general H. N. Benson. A loan exhibition of objects of historic interest was arranged in connection with the celebration and was kept on display for several days thereafter. The *Herald* for October 3 contains the suggestion that some of the articles shown at this time should be made the "basis of a permanent grouping of local relics to be housed for display at some suitable point in St. Peter, under the auspices of the Nicollet County Historical society."

A special edition of the *Stewartville Star*, issued on November 20 to mark the dedication of an addition to the high school, contains a number of articles about the history of the school. These include an account of the high school commencement in 1902 and sketches of the community's various school buildings. A list of more than four hundred students who have been graduated from the high school also appears in the issue.

At a meeting of the Otter Tail County Historical Society held at Fergus Falls on October 20, Mr. Charles J. Sawbridge

presented a paper entitled "The Formative Years" in which he told of pioneer days in Fergus Falls; Dr. Phillip Cowing of Evansville spoke on some pioneer doctors of Otter Tail County; the Reverend O. A. Norman recalled his pioneer experiences as a combined clergyman and physician; and Mr. Olaf Pary of New York Mills described early days in that community.

A sketch of the life and work of Mrs. Phoebe Lyon Welch, by Mrs. Charles N. Akers of St. Paul, presented at the 1930 convention of the Minnesota Federation of Women's Clubs at Albert Lea, is printed in the *St. Cloud Daily Times* for October 7. Mrs. Welch, who was the wife of Dr. George Welch, the superintendent for many years of the Fergus Falls state hospital, is described as the "founder of occupational therapy among the insane of Minnesota."

The history of the House of Hope Church of St. Paul, which was founded three-quarters of a century ago by the Reverend Edward D. Neill, is reviewed in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for December 23.

The passing of Christ Episcopal Church of St. Paul, which was built in 1867 and is being demolished to make way for an addition to the St. Paul Auditorium, is the occasion for the publication of a history of the church in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for December 26.

A history of the First Lutheran Church of Hector by Ernest A. Palm appears in the *Hector Mirror* for December 4. The writer opens his story with the late eighties, when visiting pastors from near-by communities preached at Hector. Sketches of pastors and prominent members of the congregation, descriptions of the church buildings, and accounts of religious education and organizations connected with the church are included in the article.

The annual meeting of the Rice County Historical Society, which took place at Faribault on November 17, marked the formal opening of its room in the Buckham Memorial Library. Inspection of the exhibits in this room preceded the meeting. The speaker was Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, who took as his subject "Glimpsing

Minnesota History Through the Eyes of Contemporaries." The following officers were elected: Dr. F. F. Kramer, president; W. W. Pye, vice president; A. R. Leach, treasurer; Mrs. C. A. Bierman, corresponding secretary; and Herbert L. Buck, recording secretary.

The Methodist church at Little Prairie in Rice County, which traces its history from 1855, is the subject of an article by the Reverend W. E. Thompson, its present pastor, in the *Faribault Daily News* for November 15.

The Rock County Historical Society was organized at a meeting held at Luverne on October 4. A constitution, modeled after that of the Olmsted County Historical Society, was adopted and the following officers were elected: E. H. Canfield, president; J. N. Jacobson, vice president; H. D. Skovgaard, secretary; and F. A. Leicher, treasurer. Plans were made for the first regular meeting on November 11. This was attended by about fifty people, and a program of informal talks was presented.

Letters of Dr. Newton Southworth and his wife written in the fifties and sixties from their farm near Belle Plaine have been used effectively by Win V. Working in a number of articles published recently in his series of local history sketches in the *Belle Plaine Herald*. Farming conditions, crops, the weather, prospects for a railroad, and other matters are noted in letters quoted in the articles for November 20 and 27. In the letter printed on December 18 the doctor touches upon his medical practice; he tells of caring for a case of typhus and notes that "I have frequent calls to go 10 to 20 miles but am not able to at the present time."

At a meeting of the Sherburne County Historical Society at Clear Lake on October 10 the following officers were elected: L. A. Dare, president; Fred Williams, vice president; Mrs. Martha Scherfenberg, secretary; and A. C. Bailey, treasurer.

The laying of the corner stone of the new St. Mary's Catholic Church of St. Cloud is the occasion for the publication of a history of the parish in the *St. Cloud Daily Times* for November



15. The story covers the period from the early fifties to the present and includes accounts of the coming of the German Catholic immigrants; of the work of the missionary, Father Francis Pierz, among them; of the organization of the parish in 1856; of the building of the first church; and of the various pastors.

The history of the Baptist denomination in St. Cloud is reviewed in the *St. Cloud Daily Times* for December 27 in an article calling attention to the seventy-fifth anniversary of the First Baptist Church, which was celebrated by members of the congregation on December 27 and 28.

The organization of the Steele County Historical Society was completed with the adoption of a constitution at a meeting held at Owatonna on November 13. Seven township secretaries who are to aid in gathering material for the organization were appointed at another meeting on December 1, when a history of the Owatonna Congregational Church was read by Mrs. E. H. Naylor.

A special exhibit of thirty-two paintings and pastels of views around Duluth and of Indian life in the Lake Superior region by Eastman Johnson, who visited the vicinity shortly before the Civil War, was arranged in the rooms of the St. Louis County Historical Society in the courthouse at Duluth early in October. The pictures were presented to the city of Duluth by Richard T. Crane in 1908.

Numerous brief items about the history of Duluth and its vicinity are included in a section entitled "1930 Review of Progress" in the *Duluth News-Tribune* for September 28. The census of 1860; Edmund F. Ely, the missionary, and his diary; the origin of the city's name; the Lake Vermilion gold rush; the wooden elevator built on the lake front in 1870 which marked the beginning of the city's "huge grain trade"; the first post office, built in 1857; and the first orchestra, organized in 1873, are among the subjects touched upon. An account of French explorers and traders in northeastern Minnesota is contributed by Ray L. Sicard. The illustrations include pictures of Duluth's first large hotel, the Clark House; of "masted grain ships" at the Duluth docks; and of Superior Street in the sixties and seventies.

Much biographical material about a prominent Norwegian-American clergyman is included in a memorial volume entitled *Mindeblade om Pastor L. P. Thorkveen*, edited by T. P. Laingen and J. O. Hall (Chicago, n.d. 192 p.). Thorkveen served as pastor for five Lutheran congregations in the vicinity of St. James from 1888 to 1923. He was a leader in the *bygdslag* movement and was noted as a writer. The volume contains numerous sketches, poems, and sermons by Thorkveen in addition to accounts of his activities.

Two sections made up of sixty-four pages and consisting for the most part of profusely illustrated historical articles appear with the "75th Anniversary Edition" of the *Winona Republican-Herald*, issued on November 20. Herein the editors attempt to "show the development of the city and the parallel progress made by The Republican-Herald since its inception 75 years ago." The history of the city is first presented. Long extracts from the diary of Elder Edward Ely, an early Winonan, telling of conditions in the new settlement in the early fifties are printed. The city's transportation development is pictured in articles about the growth and decline of river traffic and about railroads; commercial life is represented in accounts of the lumber industry and of the city as a wheat market; and something about its cultural development is given in articles on its schools, colleges, and churches. The settlement established at Minnesota City in 1852 by a group of colonists from New York state is the subject of an article. Almost an entire section is devoted to the newspaper history of Winona. Stories of the founding of the *Republican* in 1855, of the city's first daily—the *Review*—in 1859, and of the *Herald* in 1869 are presented; and the merging of the *Republican* and the *Herald* in 1901 is described. Orrin F. Smith contributes his reminiscences of "Winona Daily Republican Men That I Have Known"; Frederick Kroeger tells of "Early Newspaper Days"; Charles G. Hart of Pipestone gives his "Memories" of experiences with a Winona newspaper; and Thomas B. Hill of Seattle, Washington, presents "Reminiscences of My Experiences on the Republican and Republican-Herald between 1896 and 1908." The many unusual and excellent illustrations that appear in this edition of the *Republican-Herald* are worthy of special note.

